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JEWISH ARTISAN LIFE

IN THE

TIME OF OUR LORD.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

A CRITICAL COMPARISON BETWEEN

JESUS AND HILLEL.

Translated from the German of

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BY

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Multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una.

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PREFACE.

THE acknowledged success which has attended the publication of the works of Dr. Delitzsch in his own country, and the great appreciation they have met with in this, so far as they are known, has encouraged the Translator in supposing that the following papers will not prove uninteresting to English readers.

In an age when, on the one hand, science and research have made all more or less critical, every contribution towards the more accurate realisation of circumstantial details, must commend itself to the Biblical student;

whilst on the other, in an age when science and research have made many educated men more or less sceptical, any contribution which places in clear and sharp contrast, the wide gulf which separates the highest human intelligence from that of Him who spake as never man spake, must commend itself to all who recognise in Jesus the Son of God.

THE COLLEGE,

BIRKENHEAD.

May, 1877.

JEWISH ARTISAN LIFE AT THE TIME OF JESUS.[1]

I.

The Herodian Government and the second Temple, considered in their relation to Handicraft.

WHEN Jesus, on a certain Sabbath day, stood up in the synagogue of Nazareth, and the men and women of the little country town, in which he had grown up, beheld the wonder-working prophet of Galilee in their midst, the enigma of His presence seemed to them to grow only more enigmatical; and, confused in understanding rather than touched at heart, they looked one upon another and

[1] *Jüdisches Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu. Fünf Vorträge im Leipziger Jünglingsverein gehalten im Winter* 1867-8. Von FRANZ DELITZSCH. Zweite revidirte Auflage. Erlangen, 1875.

asked, "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not this the carpenter?"

In this question of the Nazarenes lies the justification of the task which I propose to myself. Handicraft is historically interwoven with the person of Jesus. For the moment we will not argue whether He might with equal reason have been called "the carpenter," as the carpenter's son, but the artisan class may well feel itself honoured in the highest degree through the simple fact that He was the legitimate, though not actual son of a carpenter, and was Himself so called. What, in comparison to this fact, are all imperial and royal charters which guilds and corporations have to show? No higher honour can ever belong to the position of a working man, than that Jesus sprang from a mechanic's family; and that, if not Himself a mechanic, He had no doubt taken part in their employments. Through this, all labour is hallowed; or, which is the same thing, ennobled in a more than earthly sense.

I address a circle of young mechanics,[1] and

[1] These papers were originally read before the Young Men's Association, in Leipsic.

I may well assume that amongst them there is not one who does not daily bow his knee in the name of Jesus. For this very reason I might have apprehended that the choice of my subject might not only flatter a groundless pride of class, but also wound your Christian susceptibility. But this I do not fear. You know that the Jesus whom we worship is the Exalted One. In that glory, which is the reward of His humiliation, He is exalted infinitely above all the earthly relationships which He entered, and through which He passed. If, therefore, we consider the condition of His self-abasement, apart from that of His glory, it could be but a false awe, an unseemly sensibility, which would prevent us from making the question of the Nazarenes both our starting point and our goal, in our attempt to contemplate the life of Jesus in relation to handicraft, and in connection with the history of His times.

Are we thus of opinion that by this means the nature of the person and work of Jesus will become more comprehensible to us? Shall we add a contribution to that romantic treatment of His life which is now in fashion?

No; for three decades I have busied myself with the history and literature of the people from amongst whom Christ sprang, and ever more and more am I convinced that the connection of His times with the circumstances of His life will never explain that which He was, and that which He has become to the world. We may bring before us the condition of His times, the situation of his country, as clearly as we will, but He ever moves a mysterious figure through these finite surroundings, and His form ever towers in incomparable majesty above the scene of His presence.

None the less desirable is it, however, to represent to ourselves those scenes where once wandered that heavenly Son of man to whom we all, old and young, learned or unlettered, owe the salvation of our souls.

But can we really perform the task which we have imposed upon ourselves? I know of no handicraftsmen mentioned in the New Testament excepting Joseph the carpenter, Simon the tanner, and Paul, Aquila, and Priscilla, the apostolic family of tent-makers. But stay! you would remind me of Alexander the coppersmith at Ephesus, who, under

colour of Christianity, strongly opposed the Apostle Paul; and of Demetrius the silversmith of the same place, who, by making small models of the world-famous temple of Diana, earned great gains, which he feared to lose through the preaching of the Apostle. Perhaps you would remind me of Lydia the seller of purple at Philippi, who may also have sold gay embroideries, especially in crimson, for true purple was beyond the reach of the middle classes; but Alexander, Demetrius, and Lydia do not here concern us, inasmuch as we would consider handicraft only as it was carried on at the time and in the neighbourhood of Jesus. Did we possess the New Testament writings only, we must have despaired of accomplishing our task, for though in these the subject of handicraft is touched upon, it is never brought vividly before us. We have, however, other sources of information: firstly, the historian Josephus, a contemporary of Jesus, and who describes not only the war with the Romans, in which he took part, down to the destruction of the Jewish state, but also the antiquities of his people. We have too the Talmud, that

huge, patch-work collection of the laws which governed Jewish life; and the Midraschim, a comprehensive and numerous miscellany of sayings, in the form of a commentary on the several books of the Old Testament. These reach as far back as the earliest centuries of the Christian era. Both the Talmud and Midrasch contain many historical passages, but in both works are hidden materials suited to our present undertaking, though introduced incidentally and without order. We will seek to gather these scattered sayings and stories of artisan life into one harmonious whole, and, keeping in view the stability of Eastern habits, shall feel justified, while so doing, in going here and there somewhat further back than the exact century in which our Lord was manifested.

We will begin to-day by bringing before our minds the condition of Palestine under the government of the Herodian family, viewed in its relation to handicraft. The dauntless patriotism of the priestly family of Maccabeus had rescued the Jewish people from the tyranny of the Syrian Seleucidæ, who had striven to force on the Jews the worship of the heathen

king of gods, Jupiter Olympus, instead of that of the God of Israel. None had a better right to the throne, for which no heir of the lineage of David presented himself, than this priestly family, from which arose a new royal dynasty which governed Israel one hundred years, and raised it once more to the rank of a free, rich, and respected nation. Power, prosperity, and honour, however, tend far more to corrupt than to ennoble mankind. This glorious royal house lost but too soon the nobility of mind in which its nobility of station had been founded. Its piety was lost in lust of power, and caprice, cruelty and family feuds brought at length an Idumean family to the head of affairs.

This family had been drawn into the political administration of the Jewish nation by King Alexander Janneus and his wife Alexandra, who governed nine years after his death, and who appointed the Edomite Antipater as governor of the conquered province of Idumea. After the death of Alexandra a sanguinary struggle broke out between her two sons, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*, in which Antipater took the side of the former, the

elder of the two brothers. But he merely sought his own advantage. With Hyrcanus' gold he bought the favour of the Romans, and his son Herod, whom at the age of twenty-five he had made Governor of Galilee, soon threw Hyrcanus into the shade by his vigorous activity. The Maccabæan prince heeded nothing, and would take no warning. He was too generous, too weak, and too short-sighted to perceive that Herod, whose power and daring were ever increasing, had indeed been nourished as a viper in his bosom. The end was that the Roman Senate named Herod king of the Jews in the year 39 B.C., on a proposition made by Antony.

The Maccabean prince, Antigonus, was next executed by Antony, whom Herod had bribed for this purpose, and Herod proceeded to strengthen himself in the dignity, so boldly and so artfully obtained, by ridding himself successively of all the other branches of the royal race of the Maccabees, contriving, whilst so doing, to retain by lies and flattery the favour of the Roman conquerors.

Herod's reign of thirty-seven years' duration was within six years of its close, when

that son of David was born in Bethlehem, whose heavenly kingdom was to oppose the glittering misery of the tyrant's government. Herod's suspicion was ever rising; his deeds of blood cried to heaven, and became so numerous in his latter years, that we need not be astonished to find the comparatively insignificant massacre of the infants of Bethlehem only referred to in the course of the Gospel narrative. But these scenes of horror do not concern us. We must not forget that it is only the artisan life of this period which we have to describe.

Many conditions for the prosperity of the working classes were wanting under Herod. Politically the times were unsettled; Herod had triumphed in his contests with the neighbouring nations, but whether he would be able to maintain his authority against the Romans, was occasionally doubtful; whilst he believed that only by heaping murders on murders could he secure his life and crown against the attempts of his nearest relatives.

To the Romans Herod exhibited boundless gratitude, to many foreign cities inexhaustible generosity; and in satisfying his ambition he

wasted enormous sums, which he principally extorted from his subjects. He did not disguise his preference for the Greeks above the Jews, and provided foreign countries with the means of erecting splendid buildings far more liberally than his own. Still, in his own dominions, he raised edifices which vied even with those of the neighbouring land of the pyramids; Cæsarea with its harbour, and the temple at Jerusalem, were marvels of architectural science. When preparing to rebuild the temple the people feared that Herod might destroy, without reconstructing it. He therefore provided everything requisite for the work before he commenced it. He had in readiness a thousand waggons for carting stone; he chose ten thousand skilled workmen, and caused a thousand priests to be instructed in masonry and carpentry, having previously secured their good-will by presenting them with new vestments. But not here alone; in many places throughout the country, axe and chisel were called into play to embellish the Old, as well as to create the New. Sometimes this was done in isolated districts (as in the case of the city

of Phasaelis, so called after Herod's brother), which thus received a potent stimulus to industry. Those of the nation which held firmly to the law of their fathers, saw with sorrow this heathenishly-splendid transformation of their country; but many citizens sided with the king, since he not only gave them employment, but also flattered their secular national pride. During the famine, which occurred in the thirtieth year of his reign, Herod found an opportunity to win, though not to retain, the affection of his subjects. He caused all the gold and silver in his palace to be melted down to buy corn in Egypt; established bakeries for those who could not bake their allotted share of meal themselves; and in every way came to the assistance of the sufferers. Yet even when showing himself benevolent, or when mitigating the heavy taxes with which the people were burdened, he ever betrayed but too plainly his own selfish ends. He certainly was not actuated by real love of his people, for the benefits he conferred on them were soon far outweighed by still larger sums squandered on foreigners; as, for example, on the revival

of the Olympic games. One can hardly conceive how it could be possible for him, so soon after he appeared a bankrupt, to seem on a sudden so inexhaustibly wealthy. But Palestine had at that time an incredibly numerous tax-paying population. Of Galilee, the northern province, Josephus thus speaks:[1] "No part of it lies waste; moreover it is thickly set with cities, and even the population of the villages is so numerous, in consequence of the abundance of provisions, that even the meanest village has more than 15,000 inhabitants." In another place he counts no fewer than 204 Galilean towns and villages.[2] "The land of Israel," says the Talmud, "is not called the 'Gazelle-beauty' without reason, for, when inhabited, it stretches itself out like the skin of the gazelle, when uninhabited, it shrinks together."[3] Indeed the boundaries of the Holy Land must have been as elastic as the skin of the gazelle, which, thin though it be, is most difficult to tear.

On finding his end drawing near, Herod

[1] *Jewish War*, iii., 3, 2. [2] *Life of F. Josephus*, c. 45.

[3] ארץ צבי. *Jerusalem Talmud*, Treatise TAANITH, fol. 69, col. i. *Babylonian Talmud*, Treatise GITTIN, fol. 57, col. i.; KATHUBOTH, fol. 112, col. i.

ordered the principal men of the Jewish nation to be shut up in the Hippodrome, and commanded that immediately he had drawn his last breath they should be shot down with arrows; so that his death might be followed by lamentations and tears, even though these should not be for himself. When his son Archelaus, subject to the imperial sanction, ascended the throne, he was saluted with clamours for the reduction of taxes, the release of prisoners, and the abolition of the heavy excise duty with which his father had hampered trade. Against his will, he was speedily involved in sanguinary contests with the people, whose long-repressed fury now broke loose, and the whole kith and kin of the Herods proceeded to Rome, where, in the temple of Apollo, the Emperor Augustus divided the country (Palestine) between Archelaus, Philip, and Herod Antipas, the three sons of his faithful deceased vassal. Archelaus was he, during whose reign over Judæa the Holy Family, after their return from Egypt, hesitated to take up their sojourn at Bethlehem. Herod Antipas was he who gave the head of John the Baptist to that bewitching dancer, his

daughter-in-law Salome. Philip was he, from whom the town of Cæsarea Philippi, at the sources of the Jordan, took its name; he also raised the hamlet of Bethsaida, on the left bank of the Jordan, to the rank of a town, endowing it at the same time with municipal property and inducing a large population to settle there. Archelaus also acquired fame by building Archelais near the Jordan, and by embellishing Jericho, which lies some miles farther south. He there restored the royal palace, which had been burnt down, and made a plantation of palm trees, which was watered by means of an aqueduct. Antipas took no less pleasure in architecture. Under him Sepphoris arose from its ruins as one of the strongest and noblest of mountain fortresses; whilst Beth-Haram, on the right bank of the Jordan, opposite Jericho, was rebuilt in Roman style, and its name altered to Livia Julia, in honour of the consort of the Emperor Augustus. The most remarkable of his works was, however, the building of Tiberias on the shores of Gennesaret, the "Lake of the Prince's Garden's." This town was named after the Emperor Tiberius. Mention is thrice made

of it in St. John's Gospel, and to it we chiefly owe the faithful transmission of the text of the Old Testament. Tiberias was partly built on a cemetery, which kept away the stricter Jews; but the tetrarch contrived to people it nevertheless, partly by force and partly by offering the inducements of high privileges. Not very different was the case of the royal residence of Cæsarea on Hermon, built by the tetrarch Philip, Paneas, as the spot had been before called, having been infamous, from having been abandoned to idolatry. Philip also raised Bethsaida, on the left bank of the Jordan, from a village to the rank of a town, to which he gave the name of Julia, and where he built for himself a family vault. He was the best of the three Herods, a plain, straightforward, peace-loving man, to whom it was granted to end his days in peace, after a reign of thirty-seven years. He left no son. His daughter was that Salome, whose mother, Herodias, had fled from him in Rome, to throw herself into the arms of his more powerful brother, Herod Antipas. This Herodias, unsatisfied with her rank as wife of a tetrarch, and resolved on being a queen, at length

brought matters to such a pass through her vanity, that she and her husband were both driven into banishment to Lyons, in Gaul. After an exile of thirty years, Archelaus also expired at Vienne in Gaul, to which place he had been banished by the emperor, in consequence of complaints made against him. The provinces, once ruled by the three brothers, now remained for some time under the Roman government; one of the procurators of Judea, after the deposition of Archelaus, being Pontius Pilate. Yet once more, however, as in the days of Herod the Great, the whole of Palestine was united into one kingdom under his grandson Herod Agrippa, who received the tetrarchies of Philip and Antipas from the Emperor Caligula, and later the rest of the country from the Emperor Claudius. At the time of Agrippa's sudden death at Cæsarea, A.D. 44, his son was a minor, and the country was again governed by procurators: when, through the favour of the Emperor Claudius and his successor, Agrippa the Second was made king over a great part of the country, and his authority was gradually greatly extended in the northerly and easterly directions.

During the national struggle for independence, Agrippa adhered to the Roman side with servile devotion, and died A.D. 100, leaving no son to inherit his kingdom. With these two Agrippas ended the dominion of the Herodian family, and that in a manner which in some degree recompensed their subjects for the many miseries endured at their hands.

For fifty years Agrippa the First led a wild, loose, and extravagant life; but, during the three years of his reign he became pharisaically pious, and took pride in conforming to the Mosaic law as strictly as any other Israelitè. He, however, never lost the hereditary heathenish trait peculiar to the Herods. He squandered millions in splendidly decorating the town of Berytos with theatre, amphitheatre, colonnades, baths, statues, and paintings. But although at the yearly shows held there he distributed corn and oil amongst the populace, his subjects felt aggrieved by this excessive preference shown to a Gentile city. On the other hand, he dedicated to the Temple of Jerusalem the golden chain with which he had been presented by the Emperor Caligula, to replace the iron fetters he had

worn in his Roman prison. It was hung up in the treasure chamber, and Josephus relates that he never allowed a day to pass without offering a sacrifice. The Talmud cites him as the ideal of an Israelitish king. In its pages he often comes before us negotiating with the chief Pharisees. It is related that he would himself carry his basket of first fruits up the Temple ascent; and once, when in the first year after a jubilee he stood on a stage erected in the Temple, and, in accordance with an old custom, read aloud the section "Of the King," in the fifth book of Moses, his tears ran down when he came to the words, "Thou shalt not set a stranger to be king over thee." Touched by his emotion, the bystanders encouraged him with the cry, "Be of good cheer, Agrippa! Thou art our brother."[1] It was this Herod who beheaded James, the son of Zebedee, and, seeing that this pleased the Jews, threw Peter also into prison. He died suddenly in an assembly, in

[1] Compare *Tosephoth Pesachim*, 107. b. מלך כשר. It is certainly possible that the Talmudical reference relates, as Braun and Hitzig take it, not to the first, but to the second Agrippa. The latter, however, showed himself so utterly unpatriotic, in times of revolution and war, that it is unlikely it refers to him.

which he had appeared in a robe of state worked entirely in silver, and had accepted divine honours from his flatterers. Handicraft flourished in his days, and he could enter into the feelings of traders and artisans, since, before his star was in the ascendant, he had fulfilled the duties of "Controller of the Markets"[1] in Tiberias, an office which had been procured for him by the intercession of his sister Herodias, who used her influence on his behalf with her husband. His son, Agrippa the Second, was the pale reflection of his father. He also professed great piety, but with less fanaticism. It was before him and his sister Berenice (with whom he was united in far other than sisterly bonds) that the Apostle Paul was brought to gratify their curiosity. Owing to the outbreak of the war with Rome it was found impossible to use the great stock of building materials, which Agrippa had procured from Lebanon for the enlargement of the Temple; but that he did not like to see the workpeople idle and impoverished had been already shown, when, on the completion of the Temple, thousands

[1] The native word for this officer is רב שוק in inscriptions.

having been thrown out of work, he had given them further employment in paving the streets of Jerusalem with white marble.

The most prosperous mechanics under the Herods were those employed on the Temple-buildings from A.D. 20 to about ten years before the fall of Jerusalem. More than 18,000 workpeople were employed, and the work was given out according to the ell measure, and, on its completion, measured by an ell of somewhat greater length, so as to avoid both the appearance and the possibility of unfaithfulness in holy things. By this arrangement the workmen were, however, no losers, their wages being very high. They were paid not only weekly but daily, and he who only wrought one hour in the day, received immediate payment. It must not be supposed that merely architects, sculptors, masons, and carpenters were employed. The walls, which enclosed the two fore-courts of the Temple, were forty ells high, and were pierced by nine lofty portals, of which eight were provided with folding doors, overlaid with gold and silver. One, the eastern gate, had folding doors constructed wholly of Corin-

thian brass, but all the more richly decorated. This was called the Nicanor, or Beautiful Gate.[1] Internally, the Temple was richly adorned, not only by the overlaying with gold and silver, but with massive works wrought in these precious metals. The whole Temple was aglow with dazzling light, reflected partly from the plates of gold and silver with which the walls were inlaid on all sides, and partly, where there was no gilding, from the lustre of the purest white marble. The roof bristled with golden spikes, which we should have supposed lightning conductors, but which were really designed to prevent birds from alighting on it.[2] No iron was used within the Temple: even the altar of burnt sacrifice was erected without the use of any iron tool, since "That which shortens life should not be lifted up on that which lengthens it." In decorating the Temple, no scope was found for the painter's pencil, but it appears that on the eastern gate the sculptor had chiselled at least one bas-relief, representing, it is said, the Persian

[1] Acts iii. 2.

[2] *Middoth*, v. 6. [The supposed design a rabbinical guess.—*Edit. H. C. W.* and *P. I.*]

metropolis, Susa.[1] All the more busily were other artisans employed, not only artificers in gold, silver, and copper, but also weavers, knitters, and robe makers, whose business it was to make the curtains which separated the holy places of the Temple, and the vestries of the priests.

According to the description of Simon, the deputy highpriest, who had seen what he described, the curtain, or veil of the Holy of Holies, was woven out of seventy-two laces.[2] Each lace contained twenty-four threads, six blue, six crimson, six scarlet, and six byssus-white. These were the four sacred symbolic colours. At the time when Jesus uttered those words of mysterious meaning, "Destroy this Temple and I will raise it again in three days," the Temple of Jerusalem had been already forty years in building. It was a magnificent monument of the unsurpassable love of art peculiar to the workmen of Palestine. Several trades were indeed carried on permanently within the Temple. The symbolic sacrifices of animals, whose abolition we owe to the offering of Himself by Jesus Christ,

[1] *Middoth*, iii. 4. [2] *Shekalim*, viii. 5.

gave great exercise to the butcher's calling. The priests who had drawn this lot in the division of the daily services, fulfilled the duty of slaying, disembowelling,[1] and cutting up the sacrifices, of which the minutest details were regulated by the law. On the north side of the altar stood the so-called slaughter-house; here were eight dwarf columns on which lay square blocks of cedar-wood. Each block had three rows of hooks, for hanging up large and small cattle, and between these columns stood marble tables on which the animals were flayed.[2] The Temple had also its bakeries. There was one cell, in which every morning the highpriest's meat offering was prepared, and another set apart for making the shew-bread. The preparation of the shew-bread was hereditary in the family of Garmu, that of the incense in the family of the Abtinas; these were each unequalled in their callings. Alexandrians, who attempted it, failed to produce so fine and straight a column[3] of smoke, and in every respect the

[1] *Yoma*, 71, B. Wherever no J. (Jeru salem Talmud) stands before the quotation, the Babylonish Talmud is referred to.

[2] *Tamid*, iii. 5.

[3] *Yoma*, 83 a.

Alexandrians, who had been attracted to Jerusalem, failed to fulfil the expectations formed of them. When Alexandrian workmen attempted to repair the brazen cymbals of the Temple, the repairs had to be undone in order to restore to the instruments their former musical tone. When they tried to mend the brazen mortar in which the spices for incense were pounded, their work had again to be undone, it is said, to procure as aromatic a perfume[1] as had formerly been obtained. Jewish workmanship therefore carried off the prize. One of its masterpieces was an organ with one hundred different tones, not a water organ (hydraulis), but a wind organ with pipes, whose powerful swell could, we are told, have been heard as far as Jericho.[2] A special surveyor had charge of the waterworks, and there was in the Temple not only a physician, especially devoted to maladies incident to the lower parts of the body, whose practice was by no means small, since the priests were obliged always to go barefoot on the stone pavements, but also a master of the fountains, a master of the vestry,

[1] *Erachin*, x. 6.

[2] It was termed מגרפה.

a lamp trimmer, and an overseer of the curtains, or rather of the skilled weavers whose duty it was to keep these draperies in repair, and who were assisted in their labours by women.[1] In short, here worked masters and journeymen of the most opposite callings, and all were paid out of the Temple funds. This Temple was, as it is called in Hebrews ix. 1, "A worldly sanctuary." It was a world in miniature, a great slaughterhouse, a great bakery, a great kitchen. The world-enlightening declaration of our Lord, that God could only be acceptably worshipped in "spirit and in truth," had but to be spoken to render the restoration of this ritual, when once fallen, impossible to all eternity.

[1] *Kethuboth*, 106 a.

II.

Contemporary views of Labour and Handicraft in general.

BEFORE proceeding further, let us make ourselves acquainted with the opinions relative to trade and handicraft generally current at the time of our Lord. The New Testament writings here afford us our principal sources of information. Let us begin by considering the extraordinary movement which has been going on in the religious world in England since the end of 1867. A learned Jew, Mr. Emmanuel Deutsch, of the British Museum, published in the *Quarterly Review* an article, in which he endeavoured to show that between Christianity and Judaism no such wide distinction exists as is generally supposed, inasmuch as most of the pithy sayings and parables of the New Testament may be found in the Talmud, and cannot,

therefore, be regarded as the original property of Christianity. The impression made by this brilliant composition was all the deeper that it appeared to emanate from a Christian author. For even as Judas betrayed his Master to His enemies, whilst drawing near to Him, he said, "Hail, Master!" and kissed Him, so does the writer of this paper, in alluding to Jesus as "Our Saviour." He hides behind the mask of Christianity. It were easy to demonstrate that the essence of Christianity does not consist in virtuous maxims, but in the work of redemption; above all, that in Jesus was manifested that Servant of God, whom, by the mouth of the Old Testament prophets, God had promised to send as a "Covenant of the people,"[1] and a "Light to the Gentiles;" that is, as the Mediator of a New Covenant, which, proceeding forth from Israel should embrace all nations. But since, in these pages, we profess to occupy ourselves only with artisan life at the time of Jesus, Mr. Deutsch might well say to us, "Cobbler, stick to thy last," especially should we prove inconvenient to him.

[1] Isa. xlii. 6; xlix. 8.

Therefore, on our own ground of handicraft, let us show what dust he has thrown in the eyes of his English readers.

"Sawest thou ever in thy life," asks in the Talmud[1] a certain Rabbi Simeon, the son of Eleazer, "a beast or a fowl pursue any calling? Yet they suffer no lack, they, the only purpose of whose creation is to serve me. I, however, was formed to serve my Creator; and if those who were only created for my service support themselves without difficulty, should not I, since I am formed for the service of my Creator, be also able to maintain myself with ease? Certainly; only by evil conduct can I deprive myself of the means of subsistence." Who is not here reminded of the words of Jesus: "Behold the fowls of the air; they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?"

Herr Deutsch draws many such parallels, and in so doing deceives both himself and others, since he is neither capable of appreciating the difference between what is said here and there, nor does he make any allow-

[1] *Kidduschin*, iv. 14. [Query, 82, col. i.—*Edit. H. C. W.* and *P. I.*]

ance for such passages having been written at two different periods.

When did this Simeon, the son of Eleazer, live? He lived in the time of the Emperor Hadrian, at least a full century later than Jesus. We will not, of course, insist on that account that he had drawn his remarks either direct from St. Matthew's Gospel (which was already current in the Hebrew language), or indirectly from Christian lips; but where such a real coincidence exists, it is evident here, as in most other cases, that the saying of Jesus is the original, and Simeon's the copy. We say in most other cases, but we might almost say in all; for, with the exception of Hillel, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, all the writers in the Talmud, whose teaching corresponds to the words of the New Testament, are of far later date than Jesus and the archives of Christianity. For the rest we are content to allow that the whole of Christianity might well be compiled from the Talmud, if it consisted in nothing further than in such teaching as the exhortations to trust in God and to virtuous living; but only a milk-and-water interpretation can pare down the New

Testament writings to such ordinary moral maxims; and, with Kirkegaard, we inquire, "What necessity was there that the Heavenly Wisdom should become man, to utter trivialities?"

The Jewish people has ever been an industrious one, second to none in energy, strength, ingenuity, and restless activity. Handicraft and agriculture were their principal occupations until their dissolution as an independent state; and only in consequence of their dispersion, and of the forced restrictions placed on their industry, have they become a nation of shopkeepers and merchants, and thus replaced the ancient Phœnicians. "The God of the Jews," observes Cicero, "must be a small god, since He has given His people so small a land."[1] But this little territory, of only about 170 miles long by 100 broad, enjoying as it had done for centuries the concurrent advantages of Divine protection[2] and human culture, had become an earthly paradise. It is now but

[1] Raumer's *Palestine*, Fourth Edition, p. 25. But where do we find this speech of Cicero's? The *Oration pro Flacco*, c. xxviii., contains at least something similar.

[2] Deut. xi. 12.

the shadow of its former self. It was planted and cultivated almost to the mountain summits, by means of terraces cut on their slopes, and even rocky ground was made fruitful by means of good mould being piled upon it. The Mosaic law promoted and protected agriculture by its wise enactments. It also favoured the cultivation of the vine and the olive, and in the Song of Solomon we see the science of gardening brought to its highest perfection. Iron and copper were obtained not only from stones lying on the surface of the ground, but also by mining. Amongst the iron mines of the district east of the Jordan are some known in Syria as the Rose mines, which were again worked by Ibrahim Pacha from the year 1835 to 1839; but a sudden end was put to this newly revived branch of industry by Syria falling again into the power of Turkey, in 1840. To the Israelites, Egypt was a school of science and useful arts, of which the influence was long felt. Even in times antecedent to the Captivity we meet with numerous trades developed into separate callings. Smiths and locksmiths, carpenters and masons, have

distinct names; fullers and potters, we find, had their especial quarters, even shaving had already become a profession.[1] In that early epoch of Christianity which we are here considering, trade was so developed and so highly valued, that many places were named after any particular business which was carried on there with peculiar success, such as Arbel from its rope-walks, and Kefar Chananja and Sichin from their potteries. Some actually took the name of such trades as "Magdala the Dyer" (Migdal Zab'ajja). The Jews were at that time far from being a commercial people; but, of course, we are not now speaking of such internal commerce as a nation must of necessity carry on to provide its own necessaries of life. We learn from the book of Nehemiah that there was at Jerusalem a provision market, to which not only peasants from the outlying districts brought their country produce, but to which Tyrians brought fish and other wares. Husbandry and trade cannot exist without reciprocal buying and selling, and therefore the high priest, in the short petition which he offered up on the Day

[1] Eze. v. 2, where the barber is called *gallab*, later *sappar*.

of Atonement, after leaving the Holy of Holies, prayed for a "year of trading and journeying."[1] That our Lord found in the Temple tables of money-changers, who for a commission exchanged unholy for holy coins; and seats of them who sold doves, where those who were unable to bring more costly offerings procured the birds requisite for sacrifice, does not prove any especial love of trade on the part of the Jewish people. These were branches of industry which sprang naturally from the Temple ritual, but which, intruding themselves in an unsuitable place, had degraded the outer court of the Temple into a noisy bazaar. We are also told that on the Mount of Olives, beneath two cedars which swarmed with doves, stood booths in which (ceremonially) clean flesh, etc., was offered for sale. But it was not on these "booths of Bethany"[2] that there lighted the fiery zeal of the Purifier of the Temple.

Any special preference for that description of trade which subsists by the exchange of

[1] *Yoma*, v. 3. Compare with the *History of Jewish Poetry*, by Dr. Delitzsch, p. 187.

[2] *Mezia*, 88 a. J.; *Taanith*, 69 b. Compare *Shabbath*, 15 a.

foreign rather than native productions, is nowhere observable amongst the Jewish people, either when we look backwards as far as possible beyond the first century of Christianity, or forwards to about five hundred years after it. "Hate not toilsome labour," says Sirach, vii. 16, "nor husbandry, which the Most High has created." About trade nothing is said. In the sixty-three books of which the Talmud is composed we scarcely find one word in honour of commerce, though many pointing out the dangers of money-making and of a wandering life. "Wisdom," says the Rabbi Jochanan, in reference to Deut. xxx. 12, "is not in heaven, that is to say, she will never be met with in the proud; she is not beyond the sea, that is to say, thou shalt never find her with traders and (travelling) merchants."[1] The reason is apparent: the unsettled life of one who is always speculating on gain nourishes a materialistic spirit, which will never allow him to become a thoroughly religious character.

If, in the middle ages, the Jews who had absorbed all commerce made themselves

[1] *Erubin*, 55.

detested as usurers, they had, in taking usury from the Gentiles, the Mosaic law on their side,[1] which here draws a distinction between foreigners and co-religionists which is not recognised by Christianity. To live, however by taking usury was not in the spirit of Judaism, for the Talmud[2] places him who lends on usury on a level with the gambler, and declares both vicious men, whose testimony cannot be received in a court of justice.

"When the Holy One, blessed be His name!" says a passage in the Talmud,[3] "pronounced His sentence on fallen Adam, the tears of the unfortunate ran down when the words were spoken, 'Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth unto thee,' and he exclaimed, 'O Lord of the world, shall I eat from the same crib as the ass?' But when God proceeded, 'In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread,' he was content." The life of man is no longer paradisiacal, and his own maintenance is, as the Talmud here says, often as hard to him as is her labour to a woman; yea, hard as was the controlling of the Red Sea when a miracle of God rent its waters

[1] Deut. xxiii. 19, 20. [2] *Rosch ha-Schana*, i. 8. [3] *Pesachim*, 118 a.

asunder in the midst. But even in this work-a-day world the superiority of man over the beast is attested by the fact that his daily bread, scanty and hard-won as it may be, is yet the reward which nerves him for his daily labour. The laden ass, staggering under his burden, and the ox dragging the plough, are but the passive and unconscious slaves of mankind. Man, however, becomes the servant of the earth[1] when he helps her to bring forth, both the seed full of promise, and golden fruit. "Love labour" was a favourite maxim of Schemaiah,[2] the teacher of Hillel, who died possibly a few years before the birth of Jesus.[3] "Great is labour," says another, "for she honours her Master;"[4] and "great," says yet a third, "is labour, for she warms her Master." And that ordinance of the Mosaic dispensation, which, whilst requiring the stolen sheep to be restored four-fold, exacted a five-fold restitution for the theft of an ox, may be justly accounted for by the circumstance that, in the latter case, the prejudice

[1] This in the Hebrew is a beautiful play on words. *Sanhedrin*, 58 b. (*Ebed*, servant, and *obed*, peasant. Pro. xii. 11. Comp. Ecc. v. 8.)

[2] *Aboth*, 1, 10. [3] *Nedarim*, 49 b. [4] *Gittin*, 67 a.

done to the owner in his labours should be taken into consideration. "Behold, therefore," says the conclusion, "how highly labour is esteemed by God."[1] And, when a young man presented himself on one occasion before Rabbi Ismael,[2] the Rabbi asked him, "My son, what is your occupation?" He replied, "I am a Scribe." "Then," exclaimed Ismael, "be thou conscientious, my son, for thy work is god-like."

Yes! all work worthy of the name is god-like, for the world is one great whole in which everything acts and reacts. Each separate thing is but a stepping-stone to some higher end, and all things work out together the grand purpose of the whole. The purpose that is, which God projected, when it seemed good to Him to create the world, and He executed His design. Mere selfish enjoyment can be the allotted task of no individual; rather must the work of each one lie in making his dealings subservient to the good of the whole community by which he finds himself surrounded, immediately in close, and relatively in ever-widening circles. In this sense,

[1] *Kamma*, 79 b. [2] *Sota*, 20 a.

and leaving the materials of earthly labour and its present difficulties out of consideration, we may still say that labour is god-like and eternal. For even the creative energy of God, by which He made His Almighty power subservient to His love, is called work, on the first page of the Bible. And in the celestial world, wherever and whenever it is unveiled, before the eyes of holy seers, it is not idle and monotonous rest which we behold, but movement, activity, self-sacrifice, fulfilment of Divine decrees, making known of exigencies relating both to heaven and earth, in a word, labour in God's service. It is for this reason that St. Paul, in so many passages of his Epistles, exhorts his readers to labour and to wait on their worldly calling, to work with their hands the thing which is good, that they may have to give to him that needeth,[1] and that they may have lack of nothing.[2] So, too, runs a saying of the Talmud, "Make the Sabbath a working-day (without faring better on that day than on any other), and thou shalt want nothing from other men." And again, in another place,

[1] Eph. iv. 28. [2] 1 Thess. iv. 12.

"Let a man compel himself even to the most repulsive labour and he shall lack nothing." The whole world is founded on the principle of reciprocal completion; but an idler is useless, and is a hindrance rather than a useful link in the chain of this organisation. Giving was ever more blessed than receiving, and the bread of charity from another man's hand has ever a bitter taste. Therefore, too, St. Paul refused to profit by the right which was his, as a preacher of the Gospel, to be supported by his willing hearers. Barnabas and some other of his fellow-workers also held the same views as this Apostle, who, in writing to the Thessalonians, bears witness to himself that, whilst unwearying in preaching the Word, he laboured with his own hands day and night that he might not be chargeable to any of them.[1] In this he was more fortunately circumstanced than his brother Apostles[2] of Palestine, who were taken away from their calling as fishermen. He understood a business which could be carried on without hindrance either on land or water.

There is no trade, says the Talmud, which

[1] 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8. [2] 1 Cor. ix.

the world can spare; happy is he who has had in his parents the pattern of a business of superior character.[1] "In point of dignity and rank there is a difference between trade and trade; but to the lowest attaches no disgrace if it supplies a real human want, and any calling is better than none."[2] When St. Paul says, "Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him labour;" this sounds like an allusion to the old Jewish saying, that "when a man teaches his son no trade, it is as if he taught him highway robbery."[3] "Cover up dead cattle on the highway," says a country proverb, "and say not I am a priest, or I am a great man, and the action is distasteful to me."[4] And "God has so ordered things that every artisan loves his craft, so that no trade should disappear from the world."

At the time of our Lord, there was at Jerusalem a skilful and much patronised digger of wells, fountains, etc. (bajjar), named Simeon, a native of the village of Sichnin in Palestine. This man once said to Rabbi Jochanan, the disciple of Hillel, "I am quite as great a man

[1] *Kidduschin*, 82 b.
[2] *Kidduschin*, 29 a.
[3] *Pesachim*, 113 b.; *Bathra*, 110 a.
[4] *Berachoth*, 42 b.

as thou art." "How so?" inquired the celebrated Rabbi. "For the reason," replied Simeon, "that I, no less than thou, supply the wants of the community. If any man comes to thee and inquires for ceremonially clean water, dost thou not tell him, Drink from yonder fountain, for its waters are pure and cool? or if a woman inquire concerning a good bathing place, sayest thou not, Bathe in this cistern, for its waters wash away uncleanness?"[1] In fact, for the due observance of the Jewish laws of purification, Simeon was quite as indispensable a person as all the doctors of the law, whose decision was sought in cases of doubt.

Even to this day some favourite maxims, legacies of these olden times, yet linger on Jewish lips, such as "Meloche is Beroche," that is, "Labour is happiness;" and again, "*Arbeit is kaan Charpe*," or "Work is no disgrace."[2] There is certainly no lack of beggars who stroll from country to country, and from place to place, living on the bounty of their fellow countrymen, and there are vagabonds who have taken to heart the parting blessing

[1] *Midrasch Koheleth*, zn. 4, 17. [2] *Tendlau.*

of a mother to her son on his leaving home: "Let them kick you, let them beat you, let them trample on you, let them spit on you and throw you into the kennel; but grow rich you *must*." Who can fail to perceive what estrangement from God, and what a worldly spirit have spread, even among the better classes of the Jewish people, since they abandoned agriculture and handicraft for the seductive pursuits of commerce, or devoted themselves, as had already begun to be the case even in the time of the Empire,[1] to sensational literature and dramatic science? Yet, in every department this people display talents which may vie with the most brilliant achievements; and an energy, of which some of our Liberals[2] stand so much in awe, that on the question of passing the Bill for Jewish Emancipation, they do not fear to be inconsistent.

Even in agriculture the Jews were soon at home, when again allowed to practise it. In 1849, when the right of holding land was conceded to them in Austria, hundreds closed

[1] One Alityros was a noted Jewish actor. See *Josephus' Life*, chap. xix.

[2] These observations apply, of course, to Germany only.—*Tr.*

their shops, and, throwing their packs from their shoulders, turned exultingly to farm-life.[1] It remains to be seen whether free trade will make them once more in love with handicraft, in that sense in which the ancients say, "It is gold at bottom."

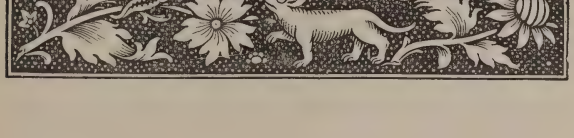
Yes; labour is gold at bottom. "Let there come seven years of famine," says an old Jewish[2] proverb which accords with this German-Christian saying, "they will not force their way in at the workman's door." Yet even labour has its darker side. It is remarkable that the first handicraft which we find mentioned in the Bible took its rise amongst the descendants of Cain. Tubal-Cain was the first smith. Cain in fact means smith, and Tubal, iron chips. So faithfully, indeed, is everything perpetuated in the East that the blacksmith of the village Gûbbata-ez-zêtun on Hermon, with whose help Wetzstein wrote his inventory of the workshops of the place, called the iron splinters struck off when working at

[1] *Wertheimer Chronicle*, Vienna, 1856, p. 53. This transition from handicraft is shown in the delightful novel, *Trenderl*, by Leopold Kompert in his "*Bohemian Jews*," 1851.

[2] *Sanhedrin*, 29 a.

his forge, tûbal.[1] The Cainite branch of the oldest humanity exhibits the rise of worldliness, and from it a certain Cainite poison has clung to handicraft. Purge yourselves of this my dear young friends! Let not your souls be snared in the earthy substances you handle! Suffer not your calling to be as a cage to your souls! Materialism, narrowness of mind, undisciplined and uncultivated vulgarity, let these be hateful to you! You have not only an earthly but a heavenly calling. See to it that they are interwoven. So may the lowliest of you stand higher than many a high-born gentleman, the light of whose eyes is quenched in dissipation; higher than many a one proud of his riches or of his noble birth, and whose soul is sunk in his stable or his kennel. But I have wandered from my subject. The next lecture shall induct you all the deeper into the peculiarities of Jewish artisan life.

[1] *Vivâ voce* communications from Consul Wetzstein.



III.

The Comparative Rank held by different Trades in Public Estimation.

WE have already frequently mentioned the Talmud. Those who have not in some degree accomplished the extremely difficult task of reading this work for themselves, will be unable to form any distinct idea of this many-membered colossus. It may be compared to a vast debating club, in which there hum confusedly the myriad voices of at least five centuries. We all know, by experience, that with whatever care and exactitude a law may be formulated, it is always susceptible of various interpretations, and question on question is sure to arise when it comes to be

applied to the ever varying of circumstances in actual life.

Figure, therefore, to yourselves about ten thousand legal definitions, all relating to Jewish life, and classified under different heads, and with these about five hundred doctors and lawyers, belonging principally to Palestine or Babylon, who make these definitions one after the other the subject of examination and debate, and who, with hair-splitting acuteness, exhaust not only every possible sense the words will bear, but every possible practical occurrence arising out of them. Imagine, further, that the fine-spun threads of these legal disquisitions frequently lose themselves in digressions, and that, when one has waded through a long tract of this sandy desert, one lights here and there on some green oasis, consisting of stories and sayings of universal interest. This done, you will have some tolerable idea of this enormous, and in its way unique, code of laws, in comparison with which, in point of comprehensiveness, the law-books of all other nations are but lilliputian; the latter resemble, indeed, calm and studious retreats,

when compared with the hum of its kaleidoscopic Babel.

Amongt the constant repetitions of "Rabbi N. N. says," and "Rab. N. N. says," and "Mar. (Master) N. N. says," it may hap that here a Pharisee stands forth and exclaims, "God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are," and that there some humble minded one prays, with the publican, "God be merciful to me a sinner!" When we say, therefore, that the Talmud is full of respectful allusions to trade and handicraft, this does not prevent pharisaical pride of learning from finding expression here and there; a pride which, fresh from the heights of the study of the Law, looks down[1] contemptuously on all professions in the world, and holds the ink of the sage to be more precious than the blood of martyrs.[2] Rabbi Nechuniah Ben-Hakana was wont, on leaving the schools, to pray thus: "I thank Thee, O Lord my God, that Thou hast cast my lot amongst those who frequent the schools, and not amongst the idlers at the corners of the streets: for I rise early, and they rise early,

[1] *J. Kidduschin*, 66 b. [2] An Arabic proverb.

I turn early to the words of the THORA (Law), and they to vain things; I work and they work, I work and receive reward, they work and receive none; I run and they run, I run towards everlasting life, and they flee to the pit."[1] How much less proud and assuming, if compared to this, sounds the utterance of like import which was used by the scholars in Jabne (Jamnia): "I am God's creature, and the equal of my fellow man; I have my calling in the town, and he his in the field; I go early to my work and he to his. Even as he does not vaunt his work, so neither should I mine; and sayest thou to thyself, 'I produce great things, and he small;' yet have we learnt, Though one produce great things, and another small, yet shall the like reward be to each, so far as his heart is, whilst working, lifted up to God."[2] Nevertheless, though all work which supplies a real necessity is honourable, and though the honour of each workman is meted out both by God and man, according to the divine standard of the moral and religious feeling and line of action connected with his work, yet ever and everywhere amongst man-

[1] *Berachoth*, 28 b. [2] *Berachoth*, 17 a. Comp. 2 Cor. viii. 15.

kind has there been a difference in the estimation in which different kinds of work are held; and this difference is justifiable, so far as it proceeds from a correct point of view, and is measured by a just rule. We must hold it wrong that in ancient Egypt, as in India at the present day, the honour in which any work was held was fixed by the rank of its caste. Just so in Germany in the middle ages; the degree of estimation enjoyed by any kind of work kept pace with the honour of the craft; and the position held by the artisan in society was not according to the nature of his occupation, but was high or low, according to the rights of the guild to which he belonged. That community of interests should draw together the members of the same craft lies in the nature of things. We see such associations, for instance, that of the tailors in our own town,[1] continuing to exist even after the introduction of free trade. This, therefore, is not precisely the same thing as the corporate guilds of former days. In the time of our Lord the members of different trades were bound together in a similar

[1] Leipsic.

manner. There was, for example, a peculiar train of thought and mode of speech, which was called the "Fuller's sayings."[1] The fullers, who cleansed and thickened woollen stuffs, and occupied for that purpose a particular bleaching ground, situated near the upper pool, on the road to Joppa,[2] formed therefore a circle amongst themselves, and expressed themselves after a peculiar fashion, which could only be understood by the initiated. There were also the companies of the ass-drivers and watermen, who bound themselves to replace, at the cost of the corporation, the ass or the boat of any member of the society who had not lost either through culpable negligence.[3] Still, guilds in the strictest sense of the term these were not. On the other hand, in Egypt, the land of caste, trades unions flourished, even amongst the Jews there.[4] The Jews of Alexandria had a far-famed and magnificent synagogue, so large that when the congregation were required to say Amen, the reader (chazzan) was

[1] *Succa*, 28 a; *Bathra*, 134.

[2] Jes. vii. 3.

[3] *Kamma*, 116 b. Compare Fischer on Buxtorf's *Lexicon*, v. בסא, pp. 169-70.

[4] *Grætz Hist.*, 3, 33.

obliged to use a veil or head-cloth as an optical telegraph. This article was called a sudarium (a kind of napkin), for pocket-handkerchiefs in those days there were none. In this synagogue the congregation did not sit together haphazard, but the workers in gold and in silver, the nail and needle smiths, the copper-smiths, and the weavers had each their proper station and seats; and if a poor craftsman came in, he seated himself among his fellow-workmen, who maintained him until he obtained employment.[1]

The coppersmiths settled in Alexandria, who in their journeyings carried with them a portable bed,[2] and whose badge was a leathern apron,[3] had a synagogue[4] and a burial-place[5] to themselves in Jerusalem. That they were organised as a guild, may be gathered from the fact that mention is made of their Rabban or Master.[6]

[1] *Succa*, 51 b. [2] *Sabbath*, 47 a. [3] It is called מטליח, *Chullin*, 57 b.

[4] *Megilla*, 26 a. [5] *Nazir*, 52 a.

[6] *Aboda Zara*, 17 b, רבן של טרסיים. The signification of טרסיים is certainly doubtful; the person here so called was put to the proof by being required to distinguish the warp and the woof-threads in a yarn. Wiesner (*Studies in the Babylonian Talmud*, 2, 98 f.) connects therefore *tarsi* with the Latin *textor*.

The spirit of trades union spread thus from Egypt to Palestine; but handicraft was not estimated according to accidental corporate privileges, extending beyond its own pale. Neither, certainly, was it prized according to its intellectuality, nor the ideality of its pursuits, nor yet in accordance with its relationship to the higher or lower interests of mankind; for handicraft and science were at that time so blended into one another that the language had not even separate terms for them. There was not then, as now, within the sphere of handicraft a graduated chain of steps, by which one might mount to the highest pinnacle of science; and there was then no such brotherhood between mechanism and science as exists at the present day, when a mechanic can hold the most influential position in a progressive science even; for example, in optics and acoustics. The Mosaic law had fostered in the people a strong and keen perception of clean and unclean; a trade which brought a man in contact with unclean substances, which made him personally offensive, ranked low on that account. Tanning, by which the skins of beasts were converted into

leather, and mining, which bores into the earth, were both considered as such dirty trades that a woman was allowed to separate not only from a collector of dog's-dung, who supplied the tanner with this ingredient of tan, but also even from a tanner or a miner, as well as from a leper, or one afflicted with an offensive polypus; and it was immaterial whether her husband had become that by which he annoyed her so intolerably before or after marriage.[1] "The world," says an oft-recurring proverb, "cannot exist either without the perfumer (bâssam) or the tanner (bursekî). Happy is the man whose calling is perfumery, and woe to him whose calling is that of a tanner."[2] Tanneries were, like the dwellings of curriers and miners, obliged to be at least fifty yards from any town.[3]

Notwithstanding all this, a "but" attached even to perfumery. Any intercourse with woman, beyond that of married life retired within the strictest seclusion of home, was, amongst the Jews, as everywhere in the East, extremely restricted, and was regarded with great suspicion. That a woman should allow

[1] *Kethuboth*, vii. 10. [2] *Kidduschin*, 82 b. [3] *Bathra*, ii. 9.

her hair to be seen uncovered, was held to be a disgraceful exposure, and listening to the song of women verged on unchastity.[1] So strict indeed were they, that though in Judea a bridegroom was allowed to pass at least one hour alone with his affianced wife before marriage, it was considered dubious whether this concession should be extended to Galilee.[2] How easily then can we enter into the astonishment of the disciples at finding Jesus engaged in conversation with a woman; with the Samaritan![3] He who sought to raise mankind from the slough of sin to moral freedom, and desired to lift woman also from the abasement in which she was at that time[4] held by the one-sided views of the opposite sex, to the rights of a free personality, conversed with women in a freer manner. Rénan has turned this to account in various *piquant* incidents of the romance into which he has transformed the life of Jesus.

[1] *Berachoth*, 24 a. [2] *Kethuboth*, 12 a. [3] John iv. 27.

[4] The position of women in ancient Israel was very different from that held by them in the later days of Judaism. Miriam and Hulda, the prophetesses, and Deborah, who judged Israel, find no counterparts here. He who teaches his daughter the Law, says the Talmud (*Sota*, 21 b.), teaches her immorality, because she may make a bad use of what she has learnt.

Jesus in truth was compelled to act thus: not only because God had so ordained it, that the line which began with the Blessed among Women, continued itself in Mary Magdalene, Salome, and other holy female believers, but also expressly to break the ban of the old prejudice, and to found that communion of spirit, in whose spiritual atmosphere the lines disappeared which the Mosaic law had drawn between the sexes. Intercourse with women is only seductive to him in whom the fire of evil passions is not extinguished by that Living Water of which Jesus spoke to the Samaritan woman. For this very reason we cannot wonder that the century of Jesus, which knew not the healing power of this new life, this emancipation of the spirit from the fetters of the flesh, should regard with contempt and suspicion every trade, which exposed those who practised it to intercourse with women. In the same spirit in which it was said that no unmarried man or woman should keep a day school, because the former would be likely to be visited by the mothers, and the latter by the fathers of the pupils, do we read the precept

that no one should allow his son to learn a trade likely to bring him in contact with the opposite sex. Amongst the callings enumerated are those of the goldsmith, wool-carder, handmill-borer, perfumer, weaver, hairdresser, fuller, cupper and bath-heater, none of whom could ever be king or high-priest: not on account of personal unfitness, but because of their degrading employments,[1] which were held in this low estimation on account of the dangerous temptations inseparably connected with them; temptations only to be overcome by self-control as strict as that practised by Rabbi-Chanina and Rabbi Oschaiah. These rabbis both followed the trade of shoemaking in an abandoned district of the Holy Land. They made shoes for women but never lifted up their eyes to gaze on them when they brought home their work.[2] A wise man, runs a parable,[3] established his son as a perfumer at a rendezvous of fallen women. The situation of his dwelling, his calling itself, and the wantonness of

[1] *Kidduschin*, iv. 13, 14, and with this the *Gemara*, 82 a.

[2] *Peachim*, 113 b.

[3] Landau, *Genius and Language of the Hebrews*, p. 209.

youth all did their work; he fell a prey to vice. The father's indignation broke loose, and in his rage he exclaimed: "I will kill you!" A friend heard the threat. "What!" exclaimed he, "are you so outrageous that you will kill your son? Would no other calling suit him than this trade in perfumes? and was there no other position for his shop than this market for courtesans?"

Another point of view which determined the estimation in which various trades were held, was the general repute in which those who followed them stood. There were some callings which exposed those who exercised them to the temptation of appropriating more than was right of the different materials entrusted to them. The concluding *Mischna* of the treatise Baba Kamma, gives minute directions for avoiding this. "The flakes of wool," we there read, "which come off when the fuller soaks in his stuff are his, but those which come off during the process of carding belong to the owner. The three threads which the cloth-maker weaves into the selvage, but which the fuller draws out, belong to the latter; but anything beyond these to

the owner of the cloth. If, however, there are black threads, which border the white cloth, the fuller may keep them after drawing them out of the stuff, since black does not look well on white. If a tailor has any surplus thread sufficient to use in sewing, or a piece of cloth as long or broad as three fingers, both belong to the owner of the materials. The shavings made by a carpenter in planing wood he may keep, but any made by the axe are the property of the owner. Should he be working in the house of his employer, the latter has a claim even on the saw-dust."

Many trades were proverbially infamous on account of their customary dishonesty towards their employers. Let no one, says an old proverb which has come down to us, allow his son to be an ass or a camel-driver, a barber, a skipper, a shepherd, or a pedlar, for these are all thievish callings. The ass-drivers, says another, are mostly godless fellows, while the camel-drivers (notwithstanding the temptation inseparable from their wandering life to help themselves to the property of others) are generally honest; and sailors (on

account of the dangers to which they are constantly exposed) are usually pious. The best of the physicians is ripe for hell, on account of the too materialistic train of thought engendered by their profession, and their too frequently preferring the rich to the poor; and the most upright of the butchers is a companion of Amalek, because, in his greed of gain, he is not careful about the quality of his meat.[1]

The following story[2] may serve as an illustration of the craft and deceit for which the ass-drivers were notorious. There was, in a certain town, a great dearth of salt. A company of donkey-drivers, belonging to the place, agreed to go and fetch some from some other locality, and bring it to market as quickly as possible. On going to call their head-man to accompany them, he replied: "To-day and to-morrow I must work in my field; but wait so long and we will then go together." By working in his field, he, however, meant something very different to what he said, and hastened to initiate his wife into

[1] *Kidduschin*, ix. 24. *Sofrin*, 47 d, and in other places.

[2] *Landau*, p. 185.

his artifice. "Take heed," said he, "that when I call for the yoke thou bring me the saddle, and when I ask for the jug that thou bring me the sack." He then threw the sack across his ass's back and trotted off. Later on, his men coming to fetch him, they were informed that he had started off the day before, and as they set out on their journey he met them returning with his load. "Why hast thou used us thus?" cried they. "Don't be fools," replied he; "if we had all gone together, salt would have been cheap enough by this time; but now, when you come back, mine will be all sold, and you can still make a handsome profit." The speaker thus proving himself a master in subtilty as well as donkey-driving.

The fact that sailors were considered pious on account of their business bringing them ever face to face with an uncertain and dangerous element (though the rule had its exceptions), reminds us that Jesus called His first four disciples from the fishing boats on the lake of Gennesaret.[1] The fishing on the lake was free; and though the sinking of bow-nets was prohibited, lest navigation

[1] Matt. iv. 18-22 b.

should be impeded, for the rest, every one was free to try his fortune there with net or line. This was believed to be a liberty especially insisted on by Joshua[1] when dividing the land. These fishermen did not amass fortunes, yet previous to the Jewish war, the sailors and the poor of Tiberias made so strong and formidable a party, that Jesus the Son of Sapphias, who had set himself up as commander of the town, maintained his position by their support.[2] Even as Jesus Christ chose His first and most renowned Apostles amongst the fishermen or sailors of the lake of Gennesaret, whom, according to St. Matthew, He first saw on the shore of the lake, but, according to St. John, had already met in Judea, where they were in the habit of taking their wares for sale, (which circumstance explains the acquaintance of John the son of Zebedee with the household of the high priest,)[3] so did the (at that time) despised trade of the tanner, open a hospitable home to St. Peter in Joppa, where he was mentally prepared to extend his preaching of the

[1] *Kamma*, 21 a. [2] *Josephus' Life*, chap. 12.
[3] John xviii. 16.

Gospel to the Gentiles.[1] On the other hand, it is a blot on the history of the dyers, that one of them with his club gave the death-blow to St. James the Just, the brother of the Lord, when, as Heggisippus[2] records his martyrdom, he was thrown down from the battlements of the temple. Very disagreeable too were the weavers (gardijjîm); ribald songs, to which no decent man would listen, were called weavers' ditties.[3]

In the treatise Edijoth 1, 3, we are introduced to two respectable weavers from the Dung-gate of Jerusalem, whose evidence was accepted on a question of law; but, with this exception, history has no good to say of the weavers. In the Babylonish city of Nehardea, two Jewish journeymen weavers being illtreated by their master for coming late to work, embraced the profession of arms, and under the Emperor Caligula these bold adventurers long ruled the districts of the Tigris and Euphrates.[4] Another weaver, of the name of Jonathan, who belonged to the robber-band of the Siccari, attached to himself the poor

[1] Acts ix. 48.

[2] Eusebius' *Eccles. Hist.*, ii. 23.

[3] *Sota*, 43 a.

[4] *Aboda Zara*, 26.

people of the neighbourhood of Cyrene, and led them into the wilderness, where they expected to see miracles. They were, however, easily dispersed by the Romans. Jonathan tried to save himself by lying calumnies, which cost thousands of his people their lives, until at length unmasked, he was severely scourged and then burnt alive. With these events, which took place under the Emperor Vespasian, Josephus concludes his work on the Jewish War. When in Erlangen, I used to hear the hum of the weavers' spool in passing so many houses, it always seemed to me as if this humming were accompanied by the sighs of poverty. There have been times when weaving was richly paid, but generally it has lain under the curse of poverty. It did so at the epoch which we are now considering. "A weaver who cannot stoop," says an old proverb, "his life shall be shortened by the anathema;"[1] that is to say, that only by a servile pliancy and complaisance can he hope to prolong his miserable existence. In another form this proverb runs, A weaver who curses his fate shortens his

[1] Josephus' *Antiquities*, xviii. 2.

years by a year. That is, he must content himself with his lot, if he would not shorten his life by repeated outbreaks of despair.[1] So, when a proverb tells us that even a weaver is a potentate in his own house,[2] the humble social standing of the weaver is brought before us, and the sense is, that any calling, however humble, makes him who follows it a master, within certain limits; which is what the Centurion of Capernaum intended to express where he says that he has a limited jurisdiction, within which his word is law; but Jesus a boundless one.[3] Neither is there any calling so unimportant that a man may not be proud of it. For man, blind to his own sin, is but too often self-righteous, and can be proud in any station of life. From pride of noble birth down to beggarly pride; this vice takes the most innumerable forms. A wife especially, will always hold her husband's calling in honour, and is disposed, however mean it may be, to magnify it to herself. Let a man be but the size of an ant, says a proverb, yet will his wife take her place

[1] Buxtorf, *Lex.* v. גרדן. [2] *Megilla*, 12 b. See also *Raschi*.
[3] Matt. viii. 9.

amongst the great. This self-respect is, when it does not degenerate into conceit, the divinely appointed consequence of wedded love, which feels its own happiness in the smallest particulars, and throws its transforming light even over the most trifling circumstances. If a man be but a watchman, says another proverb, his wife is content, and does not want lentils for her pot; and yet a third says, If a man is but a wool-comber, yet his wife calls him before the threshold, and seats herself beside him.[1]

Many such sayings have come down to us from these olden times, and almost every trade has contributed its quota to the collection. For instance, "After the ox comes the butcher;"[2] that is to say, his importance is measured by the value of the cattle he slaughters. "The blacksmith who sits at his forge is often paid by the work of his own hands,"[3] meaning, he forges the weapon which may be the instrument of his death. The miller's proverb that, "every man's luck lies in his trough,"[4] needs no explanation;

[1] For these three proverbs, see *Jebamoth*, 118 b, and o.

[2] *Bereschith Rabba*, 576. [3] *Pesachim*, 28 a. [4] *J. Peah* i., 1 and 8.

and since we have touched on marriage, let us cast a glance into an artisan's cottage. Even in these old times we find warnings against too early marriages, often the fruitful source of family wretchedness. Let a man first build a house, is the comment on Pro. xxiv. 27, and plant a vineyard, and then let him take a wife. On the other hand, a happy marriage, contracted at a suitable age, was considered as the greatest happiness on this side of the grave, especially for one who has to live by the work of his hands. "A sleepy wife makes an empty bread-basket," says one proverb; whilst of an industrious woman it is said, she spins,[1] even when gossipping. She is not only maintained by her husband, but she helps to support him and the children. For instance, it was customary in Judea, for women to make woollen, and in Galilee, linen clothing. To a woman who asked a scientific question, Rabbi Eleazar gave answer, "The only wisdom which befits a woman lies in her distaff;" and the prophet Elias replies to Rabbi Josiah, on his inquiring in what respect a woman was a helpmeet to her husband (Gen. ii. 18):

[1] *Sanhedrim*, 7 a; *Megilla*, 14 b.

"The husband brings home corn; but can he eat corn? He brings home flax; but can he clothe himself with it? No; but the wife, by grinding the meal and spinning the flax, enlightens his eyes and sets him upon his legs."[1] Domestic servants were treated as members of the family, and the death of a good servant we find thus deplored: "Alas! for the good and faithful servant, in all whose work there was profit."[2] Kindness and consideration for servants is instilled both by precept and example. "Beware," we read, "of eating fine bread thyself, and giving thy servant black; or of sleeping thyself on cushions whilst he lies on straw, specially when he is thy countryman and fellow believer; for he who takes a Hebrew slave sets at the same time a master over himself,"[3] inasmuch as he must allow those claims on kind treatment which such an one can always urge. Righteousness was already understood by the better sort in the sense in which St. Matthew describes Joseph, the husband of Mary, as a just, or (as the word is translated by Luther), as a pious man; that is, they

[1] *Jebamoth*, 63 a. [2] *Berachoth*, 16 b. [3] *Kidduschin*, 20 a.

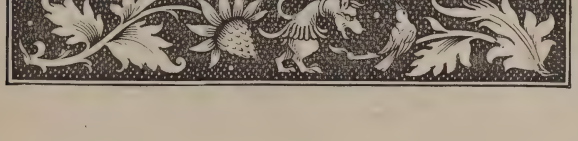
held it to consist, not in strict adherence to the law, but in following the law of love. Some coopers once allowed the wine to run to waste from a cask belonging to a certain Rabbi. He seized their garments to make good his loss. They complained to a teacher of repute. "Thou shalt restore their clothing!" was his sentence. "Is this true judgment?" demanded the defendant? "Yes," replied the judge, "even as Solomon exhorts thee to walk in the way of good men." (Pro. ii. 20.) The garments were restored. The coopers, however, clamoured further. "We are poor men, and have worked the whole day, and now we hunger and have nothing." Then the arbitrator once more gave sentence: "Go, give them their hire." "Is that justice?" asked again the astonished Rabbi. "Yes," said the judge, "thou shalt, even as Solomon continues, keep the paths of the righteous."[1] According to another story, four hundred casks of wine belonging to a wealthy sage turned sour. Certain outspoken

[1] *Mezia*, 83 a. The *Jerusalem Talmud, Mezia* vi. 6, relates a similar story of a potter whose wares were broken by some people charged with their transmission.

friends who regarded this as a visitation from heaven, begged him to examine his life. "Do you then suspect," cried he "that I have done any wrong because this evil is come upon me?" They answered, "Can any man accuse God of having punished thee without a cause?" "Come on, then," returned he; "let him who has heard evil of me declare it!" They spoke: "We have heard that his lordship keeps back from his gardener his due share of the vines." "Has the gardener then, indeed, left me anything remaining?" he exclaimed; "he robs me of everything." His friends, however, insisted on it that he was wrong, and referred him to the proverb, that "he who steals from a thief is no better than a thief."[1] Such traces of a line of conduct which was guided by grace rather than law, and which overcame evil with good, should benefit us wherever we meet with them, though true it is that to such actions we should not require special exhortation. To all mankind the pattern of that Divine love should suffice, which, thanklessly as we repay it, daily makes its sun to

[1] *Berachoth*, 5 b.

rise on the just and on the unjust. Yet how much closer is the duty of that love brought home to us, which is founded not on the loveableness of our neighbour, but on his need of love; since Jesus, the Messiah of Israel, the Saviour of the world, has offered Himself for His sinful people, yea, for all sin-polluted mankind. From His life-blood poured out on Golgotha, may be derived by all who will let His sacrifice be to them that which it is meant to be to all men, the gift of a righteousness valid before God, and the power of a new, world-embracing love. Brothers, friends, of whatsoever rank or calling you may be! strive that your souls may be ennobled through this righteousness and this love, and take this lily and this rose as your emblem!



IV.

A June day in Ancient Jerusalem during the last Decade before Christ.

IN the ninth, or possibly the eighth year (for the date cannot be exactly ascertained) of the last decade before the Christian era, all Palestine and Syria were waiting in suspense for the climax of a fearful tragedy: Mariamne, the descendant of the royal race of the Maccabees, the noblest and best beloved of Herod's wives, had already fallen a victim to his gloomy suspicion; and intrigue had now succeeded in making him suspect his two sons by the murdered princess, Alexander and Aristobulus, the pride and joy of the nation, of plotting against his life. By means of intimidation, he had brought matters to such a pass, that a tribunal, sitting at Berytos, had condemned them, unseen and

unheard, to death. All were now asking whether it were possible, that a father would permit the execution of his own children, above all, of two such noble and undoubtedly innocent sons.

To this period of terror-stricken expectation let us transplant ourselves in thought, and unroll the picture of a day in ancient Jerusalem.

It is a week-day of the month Siwan, which answers to our June. The starlight fades gradually in the cloudless heavens, before the early-breaking dawn. The two divisions of the Temple watch, all provided with torches, have met before the chamber in which the high priest's meat-offering is prepared, and have mutually passed the word that all is in order and readiness. Those of the priests who have been able to pass this night in sleep, are risen, have bathed, and donned their robes of office. In the Stone Hall, in one half of which were held the sittings of the Sanhedrim, lots are being cast, for the division of the duties of the coming day. The brazen laver, which has stood all night in water, has been drawn up, and in it

the priests have bathed their hands and feet. And now the bells ring their first morning peal for the town lying below, and the priests sound their trumpets, whose blast, in the quiet of the early morning, can be heard far and wide, both in the Upper and Lower, and in the Old and New Town.

By command of the captain of the door-keepers, the Levites now open all the gates of the Temple, and preparations begin for the morning service, of which the chief feature is the daily sacrifice of a lamb. The altar of burnt-offering is cleansed, the faggots strewn on the glowing embers begin gradually to kindle, the musicians fetch their instruments and take them out of their wrappers, the guards are relieved, and the priests and Levites who were on duty the previous day are dismissed. All this takes place by torchlight; but meanwhile the chief timekeeper is observing the dawn of the day, and some priests deputed by him, ascend the battlements of the Temple. When the sun has so far risen that Hebron, lying amongst the mountains south-east of Jerusalem, can be distinguished, they cry, "Barkaï ad Che-

bron" (the light has reached Hebron),[1] and instantly rings forth the cry, "Hither to your duties, O priests! Levites, hither to your pulpêt! Israelites, hither to your places!" This last call was addressed to the representatives of the general congregation. This band was relieved every week, and it was their duty to be present at the sacrifices, and to pass the night in the Temple.

Meanwhile the city and its suburbs are awaking. The castle of Antonia resounds with military signals, and the booths of Beth-Hini are opened beneath the cedars on the Mount of Olives. In the Temple street, which leads from the Castle Square to the west wall of the Temple enclosure, cattle-dealers and money-changers are hurrying in advance of the worshippers to the Temple bazaar in the outer court of the Gentiles. Those, too, who mean to attend the morning service, betake themselves from the Upper Town, through the Xystus Gate, from the New Town through the Market Gate, and by many another road, to the ascent of the Temple Mount. Especially frequented is the

[1] *Joma*, iii. 1, with the *Gemara*.

bridge uniting the Xystus Terrace with the Temple enclosure. Here and there some one pauses to look down on the left at the splendid theatre, or, on the right, towards the Tyropœan, or Cheesemakers' Valley,[1] and to inhale the sweet air wafted thence from the numerous dairies. Not all, however, go to the early service at the Temple; Jerusalem has hundreds of synagogues.[2] The two fine gentlemen yonder, dressed according to Greek fashion, and speaking Greek with each other, are on their way to the synagogue of the Alexandrians. This worthy burgher carrying his prayer-mantle, in which his tefillin is enfolded, under his arm, is going to the synagogue of the coppersmiths, where he pays for his place; whilst yonder lady, with the bouquet of roses, and fresh from the hands of the hairdresser, has no idea of hiding her costly morning toilette behind the lattice of the women's gallery at a synagogue, but trips with mincing steps towards the Temple Mount, in order to show herself there, in the

[1] The cheesemakers were called meggabbenim. *Schabbath*, 95 a.

[2] 480 according to *j. Megilla*, 73 b. 460 according to *j. Kethuboth*, 35 b.

court of the women.[1] The worshippers scatter themselves in the most opposite directions. Most of them wear serious faces, and, wherever two walk and converse together, they never do so without looking cautiously around. A venerable old man, with a long beard and two snowy curls in front, murmurs to himself, as he passes through the square in front of the theatre, "I thank Thee, O my God, and God of my fathers, that Thou hast given me my portion amongst those who frequent the schools, and wait in the synagogues, rather than amongst those who seek their pleasure in the theatre and the circus."[2] His wife, walking beside, or rather a step behind him, murmurs "Amen," in a low voice, and whispers, as with tearful eyes she glances to the left, at the tower of Mariamne, "Thou hast passed beyond it. It is well that thou no longer livest, noble Mariamne!"

Meantime the sun has risen, and the actual hour of prayer, at which time the sacrifice was offered in the Temple, has arrived. Yonder

[1] See my Commentary to *Jes.* iii., 16 f. A female hairdresser was called מגדלא. See Lightfoot, *Horæ*, p. 498.

[1] *Berachoth*, 28 b; and also the parallels in the *Jerusalem Talmud.*

Pharisee, who has allowed himself to be surprised by the hour of prayer in the street, stands suddenly still, and binds his ponderous phylacteries on forehead and arm. That labourer, who, carrying his basket, has climbed the fruit-tree close by, stops gathering its treasures, and offers his morning prayer from the natural temple formed by its branches.[1] Prayer ascends on all sides; in Herod's palace alone all is yet silent. The tyrant sleeps, and his parasites creep about on tiptoe. The people pray, and wherever they do so, mingle with those orisons which are uttered aloud, a silent prayer for deliverance from their tyrant, and an intercession for Alexander and Aristobulus, the two noble sons of the daughter of the princely Maccabees, the high-hearted Mariamne, murdered by her husband, by this very Herod who, having listened to their calumniators, now keeps his sons in prison, hovering between life and death. Yet even the government of a Herod is not bad enough to lack the support of a swarm of hirelings and partisans, toadies and

[1] *Berachoth*, 16 a.

sycophants, such as the court perfumer, the court baker, etc.

After the morning service, but before it is concluded in either synagogue or Temple, a scene full of the brightest and most stirring life displays itself in the great market in the Lower New Town. In forming an idea of this market, let no one, however, picture it to himself as held in some great square, where stood the Town Hall. The Town Hall of Jerusalem stood on the Xystus Terrace. This Lower Market was just such a long, wide street as we are accustomed to call "The Long Lane," or the "Broadway" in our German cities. Shops, booths, and stands are closely ranged along both sides of the street; hucksters are cheapening pastry made with the fine flour of Ephraim,[1] which will subsequently be retailed at a profit, in the more out-of-the-way parts of the city; whilst the cakes of figs and raisins are being wistfully eyed by yonder poor little maid, whose ears, in default of ear-rings, are transfixed with

[1] The Ephraim mentioned in John ii. 54 עפרים, whence came the saying, "Thou carriest straw to Ephraim," or, "Thou throwest water in the sea," meaning to do anything superfluous or useless. *Menachoth*, 85 a. *Midrash* to Exodus ix.

little pieces of wood; and fish of all kinds, from Tiberias, rivets the attention of those juvenile students whom we mark a little further on, and who should be making the best of their way to the academy founded by Simeon-ben-Schetach.[1]

Jewellery and ornaments of all kinds, even false teeth, mounted in gold, are here to be had. Here is a man proclaiming the excellence of his "dibs" (syrup of grapes), whilst there, another loudly recommends his Egyptian lentiles of the most superior quality. A third has cheap carraway seeds, and turns a pepper-mill. Wherever an open space has been left before the houses, the different artisans, whose work will admit of it, have transplanted their workshops into the street; and there sit, and labour so industriously, that they would not break off, were even a Hillel, or some sage equally renowned, to pass by.[2]

Here we see a shoe-maker, fastening the upper leather to the sole of a sandal; there a tailor is trimming a splendid prayer mantle with an elegant fringe, whilst an armourer is

[1] Grätz, *History of the Jews*, 3-145. [2] *Kidduschin*, 33 a.

hammering away at the handle of a sword of Syrian iron. In the less frequented and shadier side streets, still greater varieties of callings are pursued in open air; even flax being beaten in the street.[1] The market gets every moment more crowded, as buyers, sellers, and idlers throng to it from all sides. Down below, at the corners of the Market Gate, and above, at the openings of the North Gate Street, and the street of the Women's Tower, labourers are standing waiting to be hired. One of them is engaged to come and draw flax from the steeping tub, but the employer is careful to add, "Bread and peas, there is no better fare to be had at my house."[2] Yonder, too, at the Market Gate, and therefore in the very midst of the town, the despised guild of donkey-drivers have a stand, and one of them has the good luck to be chosen to convey a bedstead and other furniture, together with the indispensable flutes, to Bethany, in readiness for a wedding about to be celebrated there.[3] Here we come upon a crowd, through which one can hardly push one's way without hearing some offensive

[1] *Chullin*, 60 a. [2] *Mezia*, vi. 1; vii. 1. [3] *Ibid.*, vi. 1.

remark. A man, with a look of suffering about him, hurries by, grave and self-absorbed. "The gentleman," observes a donkey-driver, "seems to have had a bad dream: to which of the twenty-four interpreters may he be going?"[1] A bath-keeper makes his way through, and is greeted with, "Good morning, Master Surgeon; how goes business?" "A hundred blood-lettings for a 'sus'"[2] (groat), replies he. A fat copper-faced scribe pushes an old woman, rather roughly, out of his way. "Ah, ha! old fellow," screeches she, jeeringly, "with your red face you should be winebibber, a pawnbroker, or a swinekeeper."[3] If we walk in a straight line from the Market Gate we can traverse the Lower Town, and leaving it by the gate in the wall of the Maccabees, by which it is enclosed, we shall find ourselves in the open country, close to the tomb of John the High Priest. Here we will turn southward, and going through the gate of Gennath will make our way to the Upper Market, lying between the old fortress of the Maccabean Kings, and the palace of

[1] *Berachoth*, 55 b. [2] *Schabbath*, 129 b.
[3] *J. Schekalim*, 47 b. Compare with *b. Nedarim*, 49 b.

Herod, which in point of splendour throws even the Temple itself into the shade. Here too there is life enough, but nothing to compare with the merry uproar of the great Lower Market. Things are quieter here and more decorous; and here we chiefly find those callings of this "polytechnical" city[1] established, which are held in especial favour by King Herod; sculpture, landscape-gardening, etc.

A goldsmith has here exposed for sale a Terpôle,[2] that is to say, a golden artificial vine of embossed work; and close by a potter exhibits his wares, both useful and ornamental, formed of black and white earthenware. Here too we can buy the most delicious figs in Jerusalem: those which come from the famous rose garden, and are manured by blood from the sacrifices.[3] That white-robed old man, on whose feet are shoes which no beggar would stop to pick from the gutter, if they lay there, is an Essene;[4] and as he looks inquiringly

[1] Jerusalem is so called by Aristeas.

[2] Josephus, *Antiquities*, xiv. 3.

[3] *Maseroth*, ii. 5; compare with *Kamma*, 82 b.

[4] Herod favoured the Essenes; see Josephus, *Antiquities*, xv. 10, 3 *War*, ii. 8, 3 f.

around, he hopes to discover some one, who will show him the way to the house of the head of his order. By this time the heat of the day is already very considerable, since the fresh morning breeze from the Mediterranean has died away, and the great cistern in the middle of the market-place is besieged by both old and young. Now and then the crowd shrinks back timidly, to make way for one of the royal grooms; and intending purchasers stand aside, to give precedence to one of the royal eunuchs.

A young Galilean, however, who has spread a square of linen on the ground, and placed on it a large jar of Lebanon oil, with a further attraction in the shape of a gigantic water melon, stares, amused and defiant at the cringing throng, cowed alike by fear and servility. "Whence, then, art thou?" asks a scantily bearded, trembling little mannikin, for whom he is pouring oil into a clay egg, which serves as a measure.[1] "I am from that city," replies he, "which nestles free as a bird on the mountain." He means Sepphoris;[2] and observing amongst the passers-by, a dyer,

[1] *Herzfeld Metrological Researches*, p. 102.

[2] *Megilla*, 6 a.

who, to show[1] his trade and what he can achieve, has passed red and blue threads through the flap of one ear, and green and light yellow through the other; the Galilean bursts into a loud laugh at this curious self-recommendation; and, striding up to him, demands, "Master Tobias, canst thou also change red (adom) to white?"

The question was an allusion to the Edomite Herod, and a Herodian police-spy hurries off to call the market-watch;[2] but when two soldiers command the youth to follow them, he resists with such Herculean strength that he cannot be dragged from the spot. A dense crowd gathers around, and the soldiers begin to fear for themselves, the uproar having broken out so close to the palace. One, therefore, closes with the Galilean, and, whilst they struggle together, the other runs his sword through his body. With the cry "He shall

[1] *J. Schabbath*, 3 b. Mischna. "The scribe (libellarius) shall not go abroad on Friday evenings with the pen behind his ear, neither the dyer with his patterns (דוגמא—δείγμα) in his ear, nor yet the money-changer with the denarius in his ear." See also the *Scholion*. The Mischna of the *Babylonian Talmud* says nothing about the dyer and money-changer, but says instead, the tailor with his needle.

[2] Josephus, *Antiquities*, xv. 10, 4.

visit thy transgression, O! daughter of Edom, and discover thy sin," the young man falls headlong to the ground, and his blood mingles with the oil streaming from his shattered jar. The air rings with outcries of rage at the violence of the soldiers; with outcries of despair, for liberty so shamefully trampled under foot; with groans of sorrow, for the blood of the young martyr of freedom, so wickedly shed; but, as if by some magic signal, universally understood, the confused shouts turn to breathless silence, as from mouth to mouth the news passes, of the approach of a man who has just passed under the Gennâth gate; and with light, and almost noiseless step, but casting on all sides keen, observant glances, is threading his way through the market-place. Under his arm he carries an elegant casket, whilst his attire is more Alexandrian than Jewish; his hair is black, but, as it would seem dyed, and his fingers blaze with sparkling rings. In passing before the table of a scribe, who has "Tefillin" and all sorts of amulets against evil spirits to sell; he runs his eye over the exposed wares, and exclaims, "Ah! I see you would be a second Diophant!" that being the

name of the expert who had forged a letter as from Alexander, the now imprisoned son of Herod and Mariamne, to the commandant of the fortress of Alexandrion; in which the former called upon that officer to acknowledge him, when his father should have been put out of the way, and to deliver over to him all the warlike stores in the castle. "Your worship does me too much honour," replies the old man, deeply offended at the comparison. The much-feared new-comer makes straight for the thickest of the throng, it parts, and the bloody corpse of the young Galilean lies before him; but, quite unmoved by the spectacle, he merely cries in a harsh, repulsive voice, "Friends, you prove the truth of the proverb: Where the ox has fallen, there the butchers are gathered together." This man is Tryphon, the court barber, who flatters himself that by a master-stroke of cunning, he will to-day rise far higher than ever in Herod's favour. A worthy old soldier in the king's service, named Teron, had taken the fate of the Princes, Alexander and Aristobulus, so much to heart, that he had gone almost mad in brooding over it. He ran about exclaiming that right was

trampled on and falsehood triumphant; and at length, poured out the excess of his indignation to Herod himself; naming to him, at the same time, many who shared his feelings in the army. The consequences might have been easily foreseen. He and his son, who had been attached to the person of the Prince Alexander, were now kept behind bolts and bars in the Castle of Antonia. These two, thought Tryphon, are alike beyond help or injury; I may, therefore, fairly turn the misfortune, in which nothing but their own stupidity has involved them, to my own advantage. Full of these thoughts, he passed under the palace portal, and mounted the magnificent flight of stone steps, which led to the lofty platform on which the royal castle was built. Here, hoping to find the king awake, he arrived between ten and eleven, or, as the hours were at that time reckoned from sun rise, between five and six o'clock. Yesterday, in one of the spacious halls of the palace, a high festival had been held in honour of Nicholas of Damascus; and here, far into the night, a hundred guests had sat carousing, draining bumpers to the death and confusion of the king's enemies.

The heat of a June sun is meanwhile growing fiercer and fiercer; both markets are by this time deserted, and we too are getting both hungry and thirsty. What shall we drink, Median beer? or yet better, Babylonian? or shall it be Egyptian zithos, or native cider?[1]

We need not seek long for a host[2] (uschpiza) who can serve us to our liking. In the Woolcomber Street (schûk schel zammârîm)[3] we passed a house, in front of which great jars were standing. These contain wine to be fermented by exposure to the sun. We enter, and, to improve our acquaintance with the country even in eating, inquire whether we can have a dish of locusts, fried either in mead or honey, or even merely salted. But how thronged and how riotous is the place! Before the landlord can answer our question, a coppersmith, whom we recognise by his leathern apron, thrusts his beaker of wine under our nose, and yells, "Fools! by eating without drinking you consume your own blood!"[4] whilst a soldier strolls up, and with

[1] *Pesachim*, iii. 1.

[2] *Erubin*, 53 b.

[3] *Erubin*, 101 a, where a lane of the poultry-keepers (pattamim) is also mentioned.

[4] *Schabbath*, 67 b.

the remark, "The gentlemen are scholars, it seems;" clinks cups with the coppersmith, and both shout, till our ears are like to split, "This cup to the prosperity of the gentlemen and their scholars!" (Chamra wechaja lefûm rabbanan wethalmidehon)[1] "O thou Châmor" (ass), shrieks a third, "what hast thou to do with scholars? Say not all, where the sword is, there is no book?"[2] Two quieter men, who are playing "Nerdschir," or as we should call it, tric-trac, in a corner,[3] make room for us, and we seat ourselves beside them. The racket grows louder and louder in the sooty den, and we soon perceive that, thanks to the despotic government, even this, the lowest stratum of society, is split into Herodians and lovers of freedom. "How goes it with Aleph and Aleph?" asks some one, meaning, with Alexander and Aristobulus. "Blockhead," replies his neighbour, shaking his fist in the speaker's face, "silence is the best sauce."[4] "Who was the fellow in the upper market?" inquires another. "Afra lefûma de Jjob,"

[1] *Schabbath*, 67 b. [2] *Aboda Zara*, 17 b.

[3] See my article on Chess in Fürst's *Orient*, 1840. No. 4.

[4] *Megilla*, 18 a.

"dust in Job's mouth," *i.e.*, "hold your foul-mouthed jaw,"[1] growls a tanner, in answer.

"How now, thou stinking fungus," retorts the first; "shall I be muzzled by thee?" "Curse away," replies the master tanner, "a myrtle is a myrtle even amongst weeds."[2] The very walls have ears, and here dare no man speak his mind freely; but, on an acknowledged Herodian giving a crocodile sneeze, so that his neighbour hastily pushes away his cup, that its contents may escape admixture from the impending shower, the whole unmannerly rout breaks into the cry: "Jas, jas, Much good may it do you! Much good may it do you!"[3]

Meantime the sun has reached the meridian, and the white marble of the palaces flings back its noon-tide rays with dazzling splendour. The Temple overhangs the city like a mountain of light; and even a glance upwards, either towards the temple, the Castle of Antonia, or the city of David, with the three towers of Herod's Palace, is intolerable.

[1] *Bathra*, 16 a.

[2] *Sanhedrin*, 44 a.

[3] See Buxtorf's *Chald. Lexicon* אסו. (In Judæo-Babylonian it was said ASUTHA! *Good health!*)

The streets are deserted, and nothing breaks the stillness but the occasional cry of a water carrier, or of some hawker of Edomitish vinegar; *i.e.*, wine fermented by steeping barley in it. Labourers and donkey-drivers sit in the shade, and dip their bread in a kind of whey, called Babylonian Cuthach. Down at the dye-works yonder, things are done in rather better style; the journeymen there, are enjoying a kind of soup made with sliced onions and roast meat, and washed down with zuman, water mixed with bran.[1] But, on the goldsmith's table stands a large jug of wine, together with a vessel fitted with a fine net-work of Egyptian palm straw, to serve as a wine-strainer; besides various luscious fruits, by way of second course.[2]

The air is heavy, but heavier yet are men's hearts: for a rumour has run through the city, that King Herod has sworn death to hundreds, in a fresh paroxysm of fury. Here and there some one will tell how he had seen Tryphon, the court barber, crossing the Castle Square, under the guard of four soldiers. "Yes," says another; "I was in the Temple

[1] *Pesachim*, iii. 1. [2] *Shabbath*, xx. 2.

at the second hour of prayer, and on my way home, as I came down out of the Temple street, and on to the Castle Square, I saw them shut the iron door, and Tryphon, hanging down his head, and driven by four soldiers across the bridge over the ravine to the Castle Gate." He was right. The king's favourite had hoped to rise yet higher in his good graces by pretending to betray a secret. He had shaved the king and left him; but struggling with himself, and unable to come to a decision, he walked long up and down the avenues, with which the open space round the Palace was planted. At length, having taken his resolution, he begged an audience of the king, and, in his presence, vented the lies it had taken him so long to hatch; namely, that that Teron, who was already imprisoned on account of his zeal for Alexander and Aristobulus, had often tried to persuade him to cut the king's throat with his razor, and promised him high favour and rich rewards from Alexander, should he do so. "I thank thee for thy candour," replied the king; who, ready at all times to believe everything that was bad, was, of course, especially so, when it was told him

to his face; above all, when it related to his deeply-slandered sons. The tale heard, Herod sat brooding over it long and gloomily, till, springing suddenly to his feet, with a roar more like a beast's than a man's, at which Tryphon trembled from head to foot, he exclaimed:—"So, then, he would *often* have persuaded thee; and it is but to-day that it has pleased thee to tell me this! So long hast thou lent thine ear to this dog, and hast hatched treason with him! Doubtless, the reward was not high enough to tempt thee to this blood-letting, which thou hadst intended for me!" Tryphon would have spoken, but the king tore open the door, and shouted, "Seize him! To Antonia with him! and say to the governor, that he is an accomplice of Teron and his son."

On this Tryphon was instantly cast into prison, and whilst the artisans of Jerusalem were enjoying the short rest they allowed themselves during the noon-tide heat, the executioners and officers of justice were hard at work in Antonia, and were taking down in writing the confessions they were wringing from their tortured prisoners. Pity for

Tryphon, whose accusations had already brought misery on many families, could not be expected in Jerusalem; but could we penetrate inside the houses, we should hear from every one expressions of fear and compassionate anxiety, for the fate of the two sons of Mariamne. Reciprocal mistrust had indeed so undermined the confidence of even the nearest relations, that these feelings would often be but timidly expressed; yet, even now, loud and fearless utterances on the subject were not wanting.

By this time it is three o'clock, and a crowd, chiefly of young people, is seen approaching from the North Gate, its number swelled every instant by fresh arrivals, who join it from all sides. Loud inquiries as to what is the matter come from the houses, and it appears that a "Biccurim procession" has halted before the North Gate. "Biccurim" were the first-fruits of the earth, which, being set apart as holy to the Lord, were now being brought into the Temple.

The land was divided into twenty-four circles. At the time appointed, those who desired to bring their firstfruits to Jerusalem,

gathered themselves together to the capital city of their circle; and there, without seeking the shelter of any roof, passed the night in the open street, so that they might be ready, at the earliest morn, to yield instant obedience to the cry of the captain of the circle: "Rise, and let us go up to Zion, to the house of the Lord our God." Such a train had now come to a halt before the North Gate, in order from thence to announce its speedy arrival in the Temple, and also to arrange the offerings in due order, by making garlands of the fairest fruits, etc. Already the Delegates of the Temple are on their way to meet the procession; these are the representatives of the priests and Levites, who are on duty, and the treasurers of the Sanctuary, and already we hear from afar the joyous notes of the flutes.

Nothing more charming could possibly have broken through the gloom which this day overhung Jerusalem. The spectacle roused that Israelitish patriotic feeling, which the tyrannical government had nearly stifled; and even we can but feel, that such sights chimed far better with the national spirit, than the play-acting and Greek music of the theatre,

or, than the combats of gladiators and wild beast fights with which Herod entertained Jerusalem. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood bring fresh figs and even grapes, though June is not yet ended, some in vessels of gold and silver, and some in baskets made of plaited willow-withes; whilst those who have come from a distance offer dried figs and other fruits; and from the baskets hang doves, destined for burnt offerings, with their wings bound. First of all comes a bullock, which is to be the joint thank offering of all; his horns are gilt, and on his head he bears a crown of olive. It is a long train which enters Jerusalem, marching to the music of the flutes, and the deputation from the Temple, whose duty it is to receive these numerous visitors with due honour, is, on this account, numerous also. Curiosity is soon satisfied as to whence they come; they are from Sebaste, the old Samaria, and ever as they pass along, the artisans sitting at work by the way-side, or at the doors of their houses, rise respectfully and greet them with the cry, "Achenu ansche Sebasti bathem leschalom!" "Welcome, O men of Sebaste, our beloved brothers!"

When, still accompanied by the flutes, they reach the ascent to the Temple Mount, each man takes his basket on his own shoulder, and, arrived at the court of the men, the Levites chant, to the accompaniment of music, the psalm which commences, "I will extol thee, O Lord; for thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me." The doves hanging to the baskets are taken for burnt offerings, and the other offerings are delivered to the priests, the givers meanwhile reciting the confession appointed for those who offer the firstfruits, in the book of Leviticus.[1] All this takes place to-day, about the hour of the evening service. A great multitude of men, women, and children have followed the procession into the Temple, and now throng round them as they come out. Relatives and friends take charge of those dear to them, whilst hospitality soon provides for all strangers. And as men sit with their hosts at the evening meal, the more luxurious, perhaps, reclining on cushions, never does the question, "Know you nothing of the sons of Mariamne?" remain unasked. "They are still

[1] Lev. xxvi. 3-15.

captive in the Sidonian village of Platane," says one. "No," replies a second speaker, "they are in a far stronger prison: they have been taken from Platane to Tyre. But say, O men of Jerusalem, what is the mind of the king concerning them?" "He will put them to death," replies the master of the house, "and then build two towers in their honour." "He never loved them," remarks his wife, "for he hates all who are better than himself. I have sometimes seen him walking with the two princes. They overtopped him almost by a head, but how did they stoop, to prevent his feeling that they were taller than he!" A rabbi, who forms one of the party, here considers that, as a disciple of Hillel, whom Herod held in great honour, he is bound to take the king's part, but is silenced by the cry, "Fie! If thou hast taken hold on God's work" (*i.e.*, occupied thyself with God's Word), "put on His livery too!" (*i.e.*, practise love).[1] But when one related, and not without bitterness, what a "moustache day" Tryphon had had (it was thus that barbers described their unlucky days, on which they had made but

[1] *Berêschith Rabba*, chap. lv., etc.

trifling profits);[1] and when another told how, in consequence of the calumnies with which Tryphon had blackened them, the worthy Teron and his son had been so cruelly tortured, that in their agony they had falsely accused themselves; and how another gigantic execution of hundreds was certain to take place within the next few days, then even the countryman from Thirza exclaimed, "How happy shall I be when I am once more beyond the walls of the Holy City! of this den of murderers!" And when he did regain his home, what were the awful tidings which greeted him? Alexander and Aristobulus had, in the meantime, been dragged from Tyre to Sebaste, and there strangled!

But in Jerusalem, during the following days, the streets ran blood, and horrible was the daily task of cleansing them.[2] In the theatre the king had himself denounced to the assembled multitude, Tryphon and the principal officers of his army as guilty of high treason, and the rabble of Jerusalem behaved like a blood-thirsty beast, when thus left free to glut its unbridled vengeance on the officers,

[1] Duke's *Flowers of Rabbinical Lore*, p. 102.

[2] *Mezia*, 26 a.

who were for the most part detested. Three hundred perished, generally beaten down with clubs and stones. Teron fell too. But still, now from some quiet chamber, now from some dim corner of a synagogue, or issuing, perhaps, from the darkness of some secluded archway,[1] rose the prayer that the Messiah of God might even yet come quickly, and put an end to this bloody tyranny, and to all this earthly turmoil and confusion.

Yes! it is indeed a thorough purification, of which this atmosphere stands in need, heavy as it is alike with the odours of voluptuousness and the fumes of the blood of innocent victims of perverted justice, reeking too with the smoke and steam and fat of sacrifices and burnt-offerings. And this purification is even now at hand, when some thirty years later Jesus of Nazareth shall issue forth from the iron door of Antonia, and, bearing his cross, shall pass along the Via Dolorosa to Golgotha. Then the hour of the Herodians, then the hour of Redemption will have struck.

[1] *Para*, iii. 2.

V.

On the Combination of Letters and Handicraft.

AS the procession with the firstfruits passed through Jerusalem, we saw how all the artisans, who were sitting at work in the street, before the doors of their houses, rose to bid it a kindly welcome, pleasantly surprised by the sight of so many fellow-countrymen from a distance, and impelled by the religious character of the procession to show this outward token of respect, by which, indeed, they honoured God Himself, through these His servants, come hither to do Him homage.[1] For the rest, a workman was expressly allowed to remain seated, and to continue his work, when any one passed to whom respectful salutation was due; and highly honoured as was the study of the law, yet the

[1] *Biccurim*, iii. 3.

tradesman engaged in his work, was not required to rise even before a sage.[1] We may, however, fairly assume that some of these very artisans were themselves learned men. Even in Germany, Jacob Böhm, who in 1594, after his years of wandering, settled down as a master shoemaker at Görlitz, was one of the profoundest thinkers the world has ever seen, who to this day has never found his equal in his endeavours to reduce the knowledge of God and the world, heaven and earth, to a coherent system, considered from a scriptural Christian point of view. In Germany, too, there was a time when the burgher-craftsmen invaded even the knightly domain of song, and produced many a minstrel who was really a master in the poetry of folk-lore, such as the famous Hans Sachs, of Nüremburg, who was, at the same time, a tailor. Still, the union of handicraft and study was of a different kind at the period now under our consideration. In Jacob Böhm we see a man who, bound by his earthly calling to the shoemaker's bench, yet soared to the highest regions of thought, on the pinions of a spirit which had been

[1] *Kidduschin*, 33 a; *Chullin*, 54 b.

richly endowed both by nature and grace. He is an extraordinary character. In the schools of minstrelsy, which grew up out of the trade-guilds, it was not science, but art, which was now as diligently cultivated by the burgher classes as it had been heretofore, almost exclusively, by the nobles. Poetry was here considered as an elevating, noble, and delightful pastime, which harmonised well with the spirit of the age. But when in former days, amongst the Jewish people, many a rabbi was at the same time an uschcâf (shoemaker) or a sandelar (sandal-maker), this was nothing exceptional, nor must we argue from it that, along with his daily toil, he delighted in study; but rather, that it was then the general custom to earn one's bread by one's hands and handiwork, whilst following at the same time the calling of a teacher. There certainly were not wanting isolated voices, which even then declared that science and handicraft were incompatible with each other; but the view that handicraft was ennobled by its connection with science, or, as we ought rather to put it, that science was ennobled by its connection with handicraft, was neverthe-

less the dominant opinion. Jesus ben-Sirach, in his book of proverbs, written about 200 B.C., and translated into Greek by his grandson some seventy-five years later, mentions practical occupations with all honour; as, for example, those of the farmer, the workman, and the artificer, but holds them incompatible with the pursuits of the student of the law (*i.e.*, man of science).[1] He depicts the work of the ploughman, the mason, the carpenter, the smith, and the potter, in order to show that their employments, if pursued with suitable diligence, leave them no leisure for study, and that they therefore cannot become either sages, magistrates, or representatives of the people. "Without these," says he, "cannot a city be inhabited; and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down. They shall not be sought for in public counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment: they cannot declare justice and judgment, and they shall not be found where parables are spoken." A dictum with which, as I very well remember, people here in

[1] *Ecclus.*, xxxviii. 24; xxxix. 11.

Leipsic opposed in 1831 the introduction of the constitution and of the civic deputies. For the rest, the resolution of this question was finally arrived at, at a discussion which was held on the subject during the second century after Christ.[1] How can the Scripture say (Deut. xi. 14), "Thou shalt gather in thy corn," whilst in another place (Josh. i. 8) it is commanded, "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth;" how is it possible to carry out both injunctions simultaneously? From these passages Rabbi Ismael drew the deduction, that the study of the law and labour for the supply of our earthly necessities were compatible, and that the one could be accommodated to the other. Rabbi Simeon bar Jochan replied, however: "Is this possible? How can a man who ploughs busy himself with the study of the law at the time for ploughing, or a sower at the time of sowing, or a reaper at the time of harvest, or one who threshes at threshing-time, or again, he who would winnow when the wind serves? No; let the people of Israel only faithfully fulfil the will of God, and then the menial tasks

[1] *Berachoth*, 35 b.

incumbent on them will be performed by foreigners, as says Isaiah (lxi. 5), 'Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your ploughmen and your vinedressers.'" It is added, that many who followed the proposition of Rabbi Ismael attained the desired object, but not so those who, agreeing to the recommendation of Rabbi Simeon, made study their exclusive occupation, or, as it is expressed,[1] took the Thora for their handicraft, and made God's work their work. It is also clear, from the maxims of teachers of the greatest antiquity, that even in the first century after Christ, the combination of study with some calling by which the means of subsistence might be secured was considered desirable. "Love labour,"[2] was a favourite injunction of Schemaiah, the teacher of Hillel, whilst to the family of Gamaliel we owe the saying, "Beautiful is the union of the study of the law with some honest calling, for by the diligent pursuit of both a man is weaned from sin, but all study unaccompanied by work ends in vanity, and draws sin in its train."[3] Judah the Holy, the

[1] *Schabbath*, 11 a; *Berachoth*, 16 b. [2] *Aboth*, i. 10. [3] *Aboth*, ii. 2.

editor of the Mischna, who sprang from this same family, in which the dignity of patriarch was for centuries hereditary, named Rabbi Joseph ben Meschullam and Rabbi Simeon ben Manasseh (possibly with an allusion to the Essenes), the holy congregation, because they devoted one third of the day to study, one third to prayer, and one to labour. The word of Solomon the preacher, "Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest," he explained, after the allegorical mode then in fashion, to mean, Choose thee some branch of industry as well as the Thora (law), to which thou hast lovingly devoted thyself.[1] Therefore, not only study combined with the practice of compassionate charity,[2] not only an honest calling and a life of devotion;[3] but study and handicraft, knowledge and labour, headwork and handiwork, were at that time considered as well-assorted and inseparable pairs. Not only, therefore, would celebrated teachers carry their seats on their own shoulders to the schools, since all labour calling for physical exertion was esteemed honour-

[1] *Midrasch Koheleth*, ix. 9, [2] *Aboda zara*, 17 b.
[3] *Kidduschin*, iv. 13.

able,[1] but a certain Phineas was busied in cutting stone, when word was brought to the stonemason (sattath) that he was chosen high priest.[2] Rabbi Joseph turned the mill, Rabbi Schescheth dragged planks, whilst he praised the labour which forced the sweat from his brow;[3] and more than a hundred Rabbis, who come before us in the Talmud, were both artisans and bore artisan names. With the two shoemakers, Rabbi Oschaiah and Rabbi Chanina, we became acquainted in an earlier chapter. Three Rabbis at least, Abba, Chanan, and Judah were tailors (chajjat); another Judah was a baker (nechtôm), and yet another a perfumer (bassam); so that in this republic of letters we meet not only with a physician, Theodos (*Nazir*, 52 a) an astronomer, Samuel (*Mezia*, 85 b) an architect, Abba Joseph (*Midrasch* on Ex. c. xiii.) a surgeon, Abba (*Taanith*, 21 b) a surveyor, Ada (*Erubin*, 56 b); a scribe, Mëir (*Gittin*, 67 a), and Nahum and Nathan (*Peah* c. ii.)

[1] *Nedarim*, 49 b.

[2] *Sifra ad Malbim f.*, 192 b. Compare for the name of his calling with *Mezia*, 118 b. Another version represents Phineas as called from the plough.

[3] *Gittin*, 67 b.

a money-changer, Chana (*Chullin*, 54 b), and a grave-digger, Abba Schaul (*Nidda*, 24 b), but also with two fishermen (zajjâd), Ada and Jose; a grits-maker (garsi) Joshua, a wood-cutter (Mafza Kêsin) Chanina, a leather-dresser (schallâch) Jose, an oven-setter (tannuraj) Ami, a sandal-maker (sandelar) Jochanan, a smith (nappâch) Isaac, an embroiderer (Pikkôli) Simeon, a potter (kaddâr) Nehemiah, a dyer (cobēs), Abba Oschaiah, a carpenter (naggâr) Abin, and a thread-maker (schezûri) Simeon. A most renowned doctor was Rabbi Joshua ben Chananiah, a needle or clasp maker.[1] When on one occasion he proposed to withdraw into retirement on account of some wrong which he had suffered, Rabbi Gamaliel offered himself as peace-maker. He presented himself accordingly at Joshua's house, but when his eye fell on the blackened walls, he exclaimed, with some appearance of scorn, "One can tell at once, by the walls of thy house, that thou art a needle-maker!" Joshua, however,

[1] Not to multiply quotations, we have stopped at the two fishermen (zajdan-ajja). We find Ada the fisherman mentioned, *Moëd Katan*, 11 a, and Jose the fisherman, *j. Berachoth*, iv. 3.

repaid this ill-advised speech of the descendant of a rich and highly aristocratic family with the humiliating retort,' "Woe to the generation who have thee for their guide! Thou little knowest with what hardships the wise must struggle; little knowest thou how they are fed and maintained!" "I acknowledge my fault," replied Gamaliel; "forgive me!" But Rabbi Joshua paid him no heed until Gamaliel besought his forgiveness for the honour of his family (*i.e.*, in consideration of the many services they had rendered to the state).[1]

Another celebrated teacher, Judah-bar-Illai, who lived in voluntary poverty, was by trade a cooper[2] in the town of Uscha in Galilee; he would himself carry to the school-house the cask, seated on which, he intended to lecture. There were, at that time, no paid instructors. Even in Rome, the Emperor Vespasian was the first to set aside a certain sum annually for the payment of Roman or Greek teachers.[3] Nor does it appear, from any Jewish source,

[1] *Berachoth*, 28 a.

[2] See Jost's *History of Judaism and its Sects*, II., 86.

[3] A. Schmid., *History of the Liberty of Thought and Conscience*, etc., p. 443.

that scholars paid any fixed sum to their tutors. The learned, or teachers of wisdom, as they were called, could only count on the gratitude of their scholars and their parents, on some consideration in the distribution of the tithes for the poor, and, in certain cases, on support from the funds of the Temple.[1] Neither could they earn anything as authors. Rome certainly swarmed with booksellers in every quarter; but bookselling in Palestine was a thing unknown; added to which, the codification in writing of the so-called oral, or traditional law was, until the second century after Christ, considered to be forbidden. No wonder then that the pursuit of some remunerative occupation, as well as study, was held to be most advisable. Far, however, from regarding this as a necessary evil, the men of those days recognised, in thus working in the sweat of the face, a blessing of healthy, moral discipline, which admitted of no substitute. This arrangement could also be the better carried out, that, at that time, learning depended less on reading than on hearing; whilst the objects of study were both far fewer

[1] Herzfeld, *Hist.*, iii. 266.

and far less varied than at present; for example, there were then no classical languages to study; these were not learnt from books, but only as intercourse with Romans or Greeks rendered their acquisition possible or necessary. It is, therefore, quite in accordance with the custom of the times, when we find that Saul of Tarsus, in Cilicia, afterwards the Apostle St. Paul, although he had chosen learning as his profession, and to this end had gone to Jerusalem, the metropolis of national science, yet understood a trade. Like Aquila of Pontus, whose friendship he formed in Corinth, he was a tentmaker,[1] that is to say, not exactly a maker of tents, but of tent-cloth. Tarsus lay in a fertile plain, watered by the Cydnus, and highly suitable to the breeding of cattle. Accordingly, we find that Cilician wool was one of the most favourite materials of which cloth for covering the frame-work of tents was manufactured. To this day, the tent-cloth of the wandering tribes of Arabia, is chiefly made of goats' hair. The manufacture of such tent-cloth, or tent-linen (for which it was cannot be exactly determined),

[1] Acts xviii. 3.

Saul would probably have learned from his father, who most likely exercised the same industry; since, as a general rule, the son followed his father's calling, unless deprived of his instructions by death.[1] But Saul's father, a strict Israelite, and belonging to the sect of the Pharisees,[2] did not wish that his son, whose talents and ardour in the pursuit of knowledge, afforded ground for the highest expectations, should confine himself to handicraft. Tarsus was certainly a city rich in all means of educational development, which, in its eager cultivation of philosophy and science, eclipsed even Athens and Alexandria;[3] but the place suited above all others for the training of a Jewish man of letters was Jerusalem, the City of the Temple, and of the far-famed schools of Hillel and Shammai. Nor was Saul quite unknown there, for there he had a married sister, whose son, in later days, saved him, now the Apostle of Jesus Christ, from the hands of his would-be Jewish murderers.[4] All the more anxious, therefore, were his parents, and all the more easy was it to

[1] *Erachin*, 16 b. Compare *j. Kiddushin*, 31 b.
[2] Acts xxiii. 6.
[3] *Strabo*, xiv. 5, 18.
[4] Acts xxiii. 16.

them, to send their son to Jerusalem. Here, as he himself tells us,[1] he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, and instructed with all diligence in the law of the fathers. Possibly, even, he may be that purposely unnamed scholar of Rabbi Gamaliel, the grandson of Hillel, whom the Talmud once brings before us as engaged in discussion with his master, respecting the signs of the Messianic epoch.[2] During these years of academic life, the trade on which he had decided, and which he had, doubtless, learned at Tarsus, may very likely have been in abeyance. As an Apostle, however, he again practised it, and it did him priceless service. Return we now to Him from whom our first proposition took its rise, and who, since He is the Beginning and the End, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, should also be both the Beginning and the End of every undertaking. Jesus was the legitimate son of a carpenter, miraculously born into the married life of Joseph and Mary. He is Himself spoken of as the carpenter (Mar. vi. 3), although in very early days the

[1] Acts xxii. 3.

[2] *Schabbath*, 30 b. Comp. Block, *Source and Period of Authorship of the Book Koheleth* (1872), p. 36 ff.

description in Matthew (xiii. 55), "The carpenter's son," began to be preferred, and Origen, deciding in favour of this reading in his work against Celsus the opponent of Christianity,[1] even expresses a doubt whether Jesus is anywhere described as "the carpenter" in the canonical Gospels. We, however, would leave the text of St. Mark unaltered, notwithstanding the frivolous gibes to which it even yet excites ignorant sceptics. For we are enlightened as to the high honour in which handicraft then stood, and how well it marched hand in hand with the Teacher's calling. A thick veil certainly overhangs those thirty years by which the public manifestation of Jesus was preceded: once only is it lifted to recount the pilgrimage of the boy of twelve years of age with his parents to Jerusalem.[2] The apocryphal Gospels would fain be better instructed, and have all sorts of marvels to relate respecting the share taken by Jesus in His father's daily labour.[3] Yet even if merely considered as the product of imagination, these stories are, in themselves, so rude,

[1] *Contra Celsum*, vi. 36. [2] Luke ii. 42.

[3] See Rud. Hoffmann's *Life of Jesus according to the Apocryphal Gospels*, 1851.

frivolous, and silly, that it would almost be a sin to load your memories with such caricatures. Nor can we approve it, that the Moravians, whilst suppressing with good reason many of Zinzendorf's hymns, which speak in a repulsive manner of Jesus the Carpenter, yet retain in their litany, not only the expression, "May thy precious sweat of toil lighten our labours;" but also, "May thy faithfulness in daily labour make us faithful in our part." The Church of Christ should, in Divine service, keep closely to the Word of God, which says nothing whatever of Jesus' faithfulness in daily labour. Yet, more than probable it certainly is, that He who came down from heaven and took our nature on Him, He who was made in all things like unto us, sin only excepted, and who submitted Himself to the laws and customs of His people, was not only an obedient son to His mother, but also a willing helper of His father in the work of his calling; and, even as it was by no mere accident that His first miracle was wrought at a wedding, so it was by no accident that He was born, not in the house of a smith, who forges the death-dealing

weapons of war, but in the house of a carpenter, where He who came to bring peace on earth, and desired to hallow both the dawn and the conclusion of human life, could help to fashion both the rockers of the cradle, the planks of the coffin, and the peaceful instruments of husbandry and family life.[1] But, even as that Phineas, of whom we have just heard, could no longer work as a stone mason after his elevation to the high priesthood, so did the ministerial energy of Jesus, after those thirty quiet years, utterly preclude the possibility of His carrying on any other occupation. It is impossible to picture Him to ourselves (as Shammai once comes before us in the Talmud),[2] with His carpenter's rule in His hand. His Divine mission, which aimed at winning a new foundation and form of life for His own people, and for all humanity, gathered itself up during those three last years, into so tremendous and engrossing a labour, both externally and internally, that, with His exhausting struggles, prayers,

[1] Justin, *Dialogue cum Tryphone*, c. 88.

[2] *Schabbath*, 31 a, according to Raschi, for the purpose of measuring out their work to the builders.

teachings, and miracles, no room was left for anything not immediately connected with His saving work. His zeal in God's cause consumed His life during these three years, and the sweat of His face was at length changed into the bloody sweat which burst from Him in Gethsemane. His suffering, no less than His doing, was the hardest and most important work. His soul was the mould of a new world, the birthplace of a new humanity. Therefore, He was content, during these three years, to receive His earthly support from the hands of faithful love;[1] and what remained, after the supply of the most pressing necessities, was, by the hands of the Apostles, given back to the poor, always the objects of their Master's love.[2]

To handicraft, however, must remain the honour that the Redeemer of the world sprang from an artisan's family. The first king of Israel was taken from following the plough, the second was called whilst keeping sheep, and the second David, the Messiah of Israel, was called from a carpenter's workshop. Happy are they who recognise the heavenly

[1] Matt. xx. 8, and elsewhere. [2] John xiii. 29.

decree carried out in the earthly form, and humbly adore instead of mocking! When the Emperor Julian the apostate undertook his expedition against the Persians, which he was to expiate with his life, he threatened to punish the Christians so soon as the war should be over, unless the "Carpenter's Son" would help them. An aged minister, of Antioch, replied to him, "This Carpenter's Son is even now fashioning a coffin for thy corpse."[1] For His true disciples, something better is fashioned from the wood of His cross, and with the mortar of His blood is something better built up. Let us each one take heed that we may be admitted into that heavenly city of peace, which, through Him, is builded of God.

[1] Sozomenus, *Church Hist.*, vi., 2, comp. Theodoret, *Church Hist.*, iii. 18.

A CRITICAL COMPARISON

BETWEEN

JESUS AND HILLEL.

PREFACE.

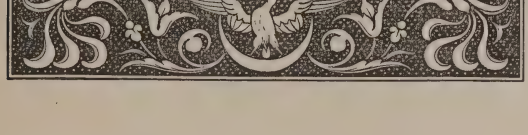
PRIMARILY designed for Jewish readers, the essay on Jesus and Hillel is so valuable in its suggestiveness, regarding not only the difference between Jesus and Hillel, but the difference between Jesus and all mere human teachers and reformers, antecedent or subsequent, as to form a most formidable weapon in the hands of those who see in Jesus not only the greater than Hillel, but the greater than Jonas, and the greater than Solomon, the wisest of men. Was Jesus man? Was Jesus God? Was Jesus truly both?

In the belief that the ensuing pages will help many to decide these momentous questions for themselves the present translation has been undertaken; it will have done its work should any, hitherto prepared when contemplating the life and character of Jesus, to say "Ecce homo," be led from its perusal to say, "Ecce Deus."

THE COLLEGE,

BIRKENHEAD.

May, 1877.



A CRITICAL COMPARISON BETWEEN JESUS AND HILLEL.

"HE was most beautiful to behold! His height reached fully seven spans, his hair was light and somewhat waving, but his eyebrows were black and arched, his eyes bright and piercing, his nose prominent, his beard yellow and not very long. The hair of his head was long, for never had razor come upon it, neither the hand of man passed over it, excepting indeed the hand of his mother whilst still a little child. His figure was slightly bent, not quite erect. His colour was as the ripened wheat, his face, like that of his mother, was not round but oval, not very ruddy, and expressive of gentleness and meekness, dignity and understanding. He was the exact similitude of his pure and stainless mother."

It is Jesus who is thus described by Nicephorus Callisti, who, writing in the fourteenth century, relied, no doubt, for the particulars of this description, on the testimony of ancient writers. Could we ask him the names of his authorities, he would most likely cite John the Damascene, who flourished in the eighth century; and, could we pursue our inquiries to this source, the latter would probably be honest enough to confess, "This portrait is but a worthless and fanciful product of the imagination." For, though in coins, busts, and statues, we have contemporary likenesses of the Roman emperors, from Augustus and Tiberius downwards; though on the walls of the Egyptian temple of Karnak, the contemporary portrait of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, is even yet to be seen; and though the palace walls of Korsabad and Koyunjik still glow with contemporary representations of king Sargon in his war chariot, and king Sennacherib on his throne, yet, so far are we from possessing even a tradition, still less a description, of the outward appearance of Jesus, that both before and after the days of Constantine, opinion in the Church was

divided, as to whether we ought to picture him to ourselves, during the time that he walked amongst men, as having been undistinguished in appearance, or of ideal beauty; whilst, in support of both these views, reliance must be placed, not on old traditions, but on passages from the Old Testament.

Let a passage from Rénan's *Life of Jesus* follow this ideal portrait of the Middle Ages. "Jesus," we there read, "was born in Nazareth; and the streets in which the child played exist still in those stony paths and blind alleys, by which the houses are separated. Joseph's house most likely resembled these same poverty-stricken huts, whose only means of admitting light is through the door, and which are workshop, kitchen, and sleeping-room all in one; whilst their entire furniture consists of a carpet, two or three cushions on the floor for seats, a few earthen utensils, and a painted coffer. Here, in Nazareth, Jesus passed the first years of his childhood; and here, at the now ruined fountain of the little town, Mary doubtless daily stood, chatting with her undistinguished countrywomen; and still in this spot, female beauty, especially the

Syrian type in all its melting loveliness, is met with in a remarkable degree. Here nature, at once sublime and lovely in her aspect, became the first instructress of Jesus; and from hence, even in his childhood, he took part in the yearly journeys to Jerusalem at the great festivals. Joseph died before his son began to take part in public life; and, feeling herself a stranger in Nazareth after the death of her husband, Mary returned to Cana, where Jesus passed his ripening youth; and where he first excited public attention. He came forward as a Teacher. The voice of the young carpenter acquired suddenly an extraordinary sweetness. Those who had been familiar with him hitherto scarcely recognised him in his new character. His amiable disposition, and probably one of those exquisitely beautiful faces, which are sometimes met with amongst the Jewish race, combined to draw a magic circle round him. He particularly attached himself to Hillel, who, fifty years earlier, had promulgated maxims with which his own had much in common, and who, by the meekness with which he had endured poverty, by the gentleness of his disposition, and by his

opposition to the priests and hypocrites, had become the real teacher of Jesus; if indeed we can speak of a teacher, when considering so exalted and original a character."

All that Rénan here states is either gratuitous contradiction of the Gospel narrative, such as the assertion that Jesus was born at Nazareth, or mere assumption, as that Mary removed to Cana after Joseph's death; whilst statements introduced with the vague term "probably," are in reality nothing but fanciful sketches of his own, such as when he likens Joseph's home to the dwellings of the now deeply-degraded population of Palestine, praises the beauty of the women of Nazareth; about whose charms other travellers have found nothing to say, or ascribes to Jesus himself, either exquisite personal beauty, or an extraordinarily winning address. This *Life of Jesus* took, nevertheless, the whole civilised world by storm; and we should be in error were we to seek the cause of this wonderful popularity, exclusively in the bold scepticism of the book, or in that spirit of opposition to Christianity, as a religion of revelation and miracle, which is so marked a feature of our

times. Certainly the applause with which this work was greeted may be, in a measure, accounted for by the fact, that, by its means, thousands found themselves with malicious joy, confirmed in the idea, that, when viewed by the light of modern progress, the Church's dogma of the Person of the God-Man would melt away like a dream of bygone ages. The reading public, cloyed with the most refined sensationalism, devoured it so eagerly, because it offered them a new and piquant subject, entitled indeed *The Life of Jesus*, but which, after the fashion of the *Mysteries of Paris*, might just as well have been called the Mysteries of Jesus. In this book, both sentimentality and sensuality found abundant nutriment, uniting in itself, as it does, the art of a Dumas or a Sue with the love of effect peculiar to a Père Lacordaire. In it frivolous speeches alternate with enthusiastic bursts of feeling, whilst every natural affection is debased to carnality. Even political discontent was flattered in this work, which represents Jesus in the light of a noble and romantic republican, something of a Camille Desmoulins; and which, whilst holding up to Imperial

France the times in which he lived, as a mirror, in which she might see her own reflection, offers as well the programme of a new social revolution.

All this, however, will not suffice to account for the effect this book has produced, and which may partly be explained on higher grounds than those already mentioned. It has cleared away the haze in which, to thousands, the personality of Jesus was shrouded, and asks once more, as a burning question for the times, what we are indeed to think of him. And in driving this question, the most momentous and critical for all humanity, deep home to the conscience of both Jew and Christian, it has subserved a Divine purpose, in a manner which the author assuredly never contemplated. Nor would this book have thus succeeded in making the person of Jesus the centre-point of modern thought, had not its writer availed himself of all the graces of composition to endow his portrait with form and colour.

It was this that constituted its great charm in the eyes of Christian readers. It aimed at the strictly legitimate task of bringing the

historical account of Jesus into living conformity with the times and country in which he lived, thus meeting the wish natural to all Christians, to be able to form some definite idea of his appearance in the days of his flesh.

But the likeness drawn by Rénan is no historical portrait. It is a caricature, compounded of the most contradictory elements, a lying imposture which subsists only by the falsification of the true history. This we can prove by a single example, namely, by one of those false statements in which Hillel is pointed out as having been the true and actual teacher of Jesus. Rénan is, however, too much of a Christian to rank Hillel higher than Jesus, highly as he values the former; since in one place he observes, "Hillel can never be considered as the true founder of Christianity," an idea which it would have been mere folly to contradict, had he not regarded Hillel as a being whose moral greatness was at least akin to that of Jesus.

On the other hand, Dr. Geiger, the learned Rabbi of the "Reformed" Congregation of Frankfort-on-Main, in his *Lectures on Judaism*, and in his *History* (published in 1864), is too

good a Jew to rank Hillel below Jesus. "Jesus," says he, "was a Pharisee, who followed in Hillel's footsteps. He never gave utterance to a single new idea. Of Hillel, on the contrary, we may say, and the term, far from degrading, will only ennoble him, that he presents us with the portrait of a genuine Reformer. And," adds Geiger, with a side hit which we can easily understand, "this Hillel is a strictly historical personage. In the case of other men, indeed, tradition colours their whole life, decks them with miracles, and envelopes them in her tinsel. But the more wonderful the legend, the more incredible does it become, and all the more surely does it obscure the real character, and render contemptible the object it seeks to glorify, when we come to consider him as a historical personage."

Dr. Geiger's *Lectures*[1] have been extensively read, they have been discussed in widely circulated newspapers; and we believe that we shall render a not unwelcome service to unprejudiced readers, both Jewish and Christian,

[1] A second edition of these lectures appeared in 1865, but in it these remarks were left unaltered.

if in these pages we examine this same Hillel a little more closely, who by Rénan is placed on a par with Jesus, by Geiger is ranked far above him.

He is, in truth, deserving of our sympathy; a truly great and loveable man. Nor amongst the contemporaries of Jesus is there one, who, if compared to him, is so well fitted as Hillel to bring out in its fullest light the peerless individuality of his character. Indeed, in drawing the comparison about to be instituted, we enjoy a double advantage; firstly, because the notices of Hillel contained in the Talmud are unusually numerous, and, although not free from grotesque exaggeration,[1] are generally trustworthy; and secondly, because we are in no danger of our judgment concerning him becoming confused.

[1] As for instance where according to *Sofrim*, xvi. 9, his knowledge is said to have been so comprehensive that he understood not only all languages, but also the speech of mountains, hills, and valleys, the speech of trees and herbs, the speech of savage and tame beasts, and the speech of demons. And again according to *Succa*, 28 a, where he is stated to have had eighty disciples, thirty of whom were worthy that the Shechinah (Presence of God) should rest upon them, thirty who were worthy that at their bidding, as at Joshua's, the sun should stand still, and twenty of greater mediocrity. The greatest of all was Jonathan ben Aziel, of whom it is related, that, when he sat reading the law, every bird which flew over his head was immediately consumed.

He flourished during the reign of Herod the Great, and died during the early childhood of Jesus.[1]

When Herod, as we read in Mat. ii. 40, demanded of the chief priests and scribes where Christ should be born, Hillel may well have been president of that sitting of the Sanhedrin, which, in strict accordance with Scripture, gave the king the reply, that he must be born at Bethlehem-Ephrata.

Much beyond this date his life could not have been prolonged; and he never had the opportunity of either acknowledging or rejecting the Saviour. He must, therefore, be considered as having been virtually a pre-Messianic celebrity.

And now, ere we enter on the task of calling up a distinct picture of Hillel's life and work, in order to compare them with the life and labours of Jesus, we will promise our readers to adhere strictly, in the case of the former, to the accounts which have come down to us of him, without adding any

[1] According to the Talmud, *b. Schabbath*, 15 a, the date of Hillel's presidency of the Sanhedrin, was just one hundred years before the fall of Jerusalem.

comments of our own; and, in the case of the latter, to hold aloof from all that modern critics reject, and to keep exclusively to such testimony as even the criticism of a Strauss cannot shake; following principally the Gospel according to St. Mark, as that which has at present, the honour of being considered both the oldest and the most trustworthy.

I.

HOW did Hillel become a great teacher, and how did Jesus?

This is the first question, to which their respective histories must supply the answer, and that, without our adding to, or diminishing aught from the record.

About fifty years before the commencement of our era, the following occurrence took place in Jerusalem.

Shemaiah and Abtalion, the most celebrated doctors of that day, had on one occasion, the eve of the Sabbath, conducted throughout the whole night,[1] a numerous class of disciples, engaged in the study of the law. It was the month Tebeth, and just at the time of the winter solstice; therefore, about the end of December. When "the pillars of the dawn were set up" (it was thus that the Semitic

[1] *b. Joma*, 35 b.

races expressed themselves, since in that latitude the sun shoots like a ball of light above the horizon, after a much shorter twilight than with us), Shemaiah observed to Abtalion, "Good brother Abtalion, our schoolhouse is generally well lighted in the daytime, but this morning it is so dark, that it must be a cloudy day." On looking up, however, something resembling a human form was descried in the aperture of the window. Someone climbed on to the roof, and there a man was actually found buried in the snow which had fallen during the previous night. It was Hillel. They soon extricated him, bathed, and rubbed him with oil, and laid him before a fire, saying amongst themselves as they did so, "He is worthy that on his account the Sabbath should be broken."

But how had Hillel placed himself in this situation?

This Hillel, grandfather of Gamaliel, at whose feet sat St. Paul the Apostle, and ancestor of a family in which the office of president of the Sanhedrin was for centuries hereditary, belonged to a family of Jewish exiles at Babylon. Though able to trace

their descent from David,[1] his kindred were poor; and both Hillel and his brother Shebna[2] had come to Jerusalem, one to seek his fortune as a trader, and the other to slake his thirst for knowledge at the fountain-head of national learning. In order to accomplish this, he had to hire himself out as a journeyman, and his daily earnings amounted to a tropaïkon. This was the Greek name for the Roman victoriatus, a small coin, of the value of half a denarius, and stamped with the image of victory. One half of his gains had to support his family (for he was married); the other he paid to the steward of the Beth-ha-Midrasch, that academy over which Shemaiah and Abtalion presided. One day, however, when he had been unable to meet with work, he was denied admittance by the avaricious steward. Favoured by the darkness of the night, he clambered up to the window placed in the top of the wall, whence he could see and hear all that passed below; but unable long to endure the intense cold of the heavy

[1] *Bereschith Rabba*, § 98, which in support of its testimony appeals to a pedigree found in Jerusalem. מגלת יחסין.

[2] *b. Sota*, 21 a, according to which he in later times shared his earnings with his brother, who was also a student.

snow, from which even Jerusalem is not always exempt, he sunk down in that state of insensibility, from which he was on the following Sabbath morning with difficulty restored to life.

It was thus that Hillel's talents were developed. To satisfy his thirst for knowledge, he resorted to the most celebrated teachers of his day, and spared no pains to acquire the heritage of their wisdom. Schooled by the greatest celebrities in the learning of the Thora, he, in after times, became himself one of its highest authorities. When the question was once debated, whether the Pascal lamb could be slain on the eve of the Passover should it happen to fall on a Sabbath, Hillel came forward as the guardian of the correct interpretation, and decided the question in the affirmative.[1] From this time forward, he was regarded as one of the principal expounders of the so-called oral or traditional law; to which, in a stormy and degenerate age, he secured uninterrupted development, by his personal gentleness, high culture, and moderate Pharisaical tendencies.

[1] *b. Pesachim*, 66 a, *j. Pesachim*, 33 a.

A reformer he never was. Dr. Geiger only places him on this pinnacle, in order to rank Jesus below him. But he alone can be called a reformer, who, indued with creative genius, restores a debased or deformed national religion to its original purity, and breathes into an expiring body that new life which first takes its rise in himself. Such reformers were Samuel and Ezra. Hillel, however, left everything as he found it. He introduced, indeed, some few novelties in the administration of civil law, especially in matters relating to commerce and money-lending, by which the letter of the Mosaic law was subtly evaded. But, with these exceptions, he simply carried out the Pharisaic system of maxims. With the actual faith of his nation he scarcely meddled; much less did he ever revive it from decay or quicken it with new impulses.

All history, on the other hand, proclaims what Jesus has become; nor need we first compile the story. It is enough to say, that the fact confronts us, if only we do not obstinately close our eyes to it. Hillel was no reformer; else, what was the primitive form of

religion amongst his people which he restored? Or, what were the errors which he swept away? But Jesus is the founder of a new religion, which stands to the religion of the Old Testament, in the relation of its very heart and kernel, of its disentrammelled spirit. He is the founder of a humanism undreamt of before his day, of a religion of philanthropy and humanity, which declares all walls of partition between different races to be abolished, and he has instituted a universal brotherhood, through the new bond of a divine and all-embracing love.

How then, we ask, did Jesus effect this? He too, like Hillel, was descended from a decayed branch of the family of David;[1] though unlike Hillel, instead of being brought up in Babylonia, where the Jewish population began at that time to rival their countrymen at home in national culture, he grew to man's estate in Galilee, a province on which the

[1] Though not the actual, yet as the legitimate son of Joseph, the son of Jacob (see Matt. i.), Jesus was descended from that branch of the house of David which was founded by Solomon, and through his mother, Mary the daughter of Heli (Luke iii.), from that which was founded by Nathan. In the Talmud Mary is referred to as בת־עלי, daughter of Heli, whilst in *b. Sanhedrin*, 43 b, Jesus is said to have been קרוב למלכות (related to the king's house).

Judean looked down with the same lofty contempt with which a Greek regarded Bœotia, or a Parisian may think of a Gascon; his home being in the most despised spot of this despised district. In the Talmud we meet with celebrated men from a number of townships, both in Palestine and Galilee, who have now vanished, leaving no trace behind; but from Nazareth (Nazara),[1] there comes not one. Josephus, the historian, who during the Roman war had to organise the Galilean revolt, counts no fewer than 204 over-populated towns and villages. He gives the names of several, but does not even mention Nazareth. Had this spot, indeed, been referred to only in the Gospels, modern criticism would doubtless have decided that it never existed. But there it lies to this day, as it lay 2000 years ago, with its houses built into the slope of the mountain, in the hollow of a deep and narrow basin, which, enclosed by mountains on three sides, slopes down southward towards the famous plain of Jezreel, renowned as a battle-field in both ancient and modern times.

Here, in this deep retirement Jesus grew

[1] Both forms are met with in the oldest Greek MSS.

up as a lily of the field. For him there were no opportunities of education beyond his own home, if we except, perhaps, the Synagogue. Hillel may well be considered as the depositary of the wisdom of Shemaiah and Abtalion; but who, amongst his astonished contemporaries, could point out the teacher of Jesus? The Talmud certainly assigns him a celebrated master, Joshua the son of Perachiah, with whom it states that he fled to Alexandria, to escape the fury of a murderous king, and by whom he was subsequently excommunicated[1] as a renegade disciple, to the blast of four hundred rams' horns. But this excommunication concert is an absurdity, and the whole story an impudent fabrication.[2] This Joshua lived a whole century earlier than Jesus, who, as we know, went down into Egypt, but it was as an infant at his mother's breast. Nor can he have brought back impressions from thence, where Judaism had entered on a more enlightened and liberal phase than in the mother country. Still less can he there

[1] *b. Sanhedrin* 107 b (in unabridged editions).

[2] The emigration of Joshua the son of Perachiah, took place at the time of the persecution of the Pharisees under the Asmonean king Alexander I. Jannai (died 76 B.C.). See Jost's *History of Judaism and its sects*, I., 237.

have studied magic, as another Talmudistic fable declares him to have done.[1]

Since, however, no human spirit can develop itself independently of impulses from without, so Jesus, by intercourse with his pious parents, and others by whom he was alternately attracted and repelled, would gradually receive a, to us incalculable, world of impressions. These doubtless helped to make him that which he finally became, but this was actually determined by his own unique nature, by which these impressions were treasured up and worked out. His principal means of development was communion with God, through His Word, as contained in the Holy Scriptures. This Word, received from without, told him what were the needs of his people, and of mankind, and for whose help they waited. And the God within him told him what was the service which he was called to render, both to his own people, and to the whole human race; not, like Hillel, to persevere in a system of ordinances, but, laying aside these outward

[1] *b. Schabbath*, 104 b: the "son of Stada," בן סטדא, a name of contempt given to Jesus, brought enchantments from Egypt in a cut which he had made in his flesh. This is an indirect testimony from an enemy's lips to the historical truth of our Saviour's miracles.

ceremonial observances, to bring mankind into a direct and spiritually-free relationship to God; and to yield himself a willing sacrifice to the fulfilment of this supreme vocation. In other words, he strengthened himself in God with ever increasing certainty, as that Messiah promised aforetime by Moses and the prophets. He experienced in himself what the servant of Jehovah expresses in Is. 50. 4: "The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary: he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth my ear to hear as the learned." The more deeply he studied the prophecies, and the more closely he marked the corruption of his people, dead in the works of the law, the more clearly was it revealed to him, that he must be prepared for heavy suffering, and the more earnestly did he pray for strength and courage; even as we read in the words of Isaiah 50. 5, 6, "The Lord God hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away back. I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I hid not my face from shame

and spitting." And in this school of deep inner experiences the disciple of God developed into that Divine Teacher; who, under the lowly guise of an itinerant Galilean preacher,[1] hid the sublime self-consciousness of the Messiah of Israel.

Those around him were acquainted with the circumstances of his birth, but these were more calculated to deepen than to explain the strange enigma of this untaught Teacher. When in the synagogue of Nazareth, the book of Isaiah was given to him, that he might read the appointed lesson of the day; he began with the words, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek: he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." And, in full assurance that he, and no other, was that servant of Jehovah, whom the prophet here represents as speaking, he, whilst the eyes of all present were fastened on him, began his sermon with

[1] עובר גלילאה. It is thus that the wandering Galilean teachers are described in the Talmud, *b. Sanhedrin*, 70 a, *Chullin*, 27 b.

those words of strong confirmation: "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears." Mar. 6. 2, 3. The first effect of the powerful impression made by this public manifestation was astonishment: "From whence hath this man these things," asked the Nazarenes, "and what wisdom is this which is given unto him, that even such mighty works are wrought by his hands? Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary and the brother of James and Joses and of Juda and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us?" They knew no natural explanation of the lofty self-assertion with which their countryman confronted them in word and deed; and therefore, as St. Mark's Gospel proceeds to explain, ch. 6. 3, they were offended at him. For he lacked that patent of nobility, which, according to Jewish ideas, was possessed by every teacher who could prove himself the disciple of some celebrated man. That he stood without the pale of this privileged class (שלשלת הקבלה) was in their eyes no recommendation.

It was in this very point that Jesus differed so essentially from Hillel, who simply propagated the scholastic lore of Shemaiah and

Abtalion. Jesus came from no rabbinical seminary, nor did he ever attach himself to, or seek to build up, any existing system. Free and direct, he drank of the fulness of the Divine Spirit, and without dependence on man, developed himself, through the Word of God, from the depths of his own holy being. From childhood he had lived in a communion with God, which enabled him to speak those words,[1] whose like were, before him, never heard from mortal lips, neither after him will be: "No man knoweth the Son but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." Mat. 11. 27.

This it was which threw all his contemporaries into amazement at his doctrine, manner of teaching, and whole mode of life; and the despised province of Galilee then experienced the fulfilment of the ancient prediction, Isa. 9. 2, "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined." In accordance with this

[1] These words of Jesus have come down to us through other sources besides St. Matthew's gospel.

word of the prophet, the Talmud says, that the deliverance of Israel shall dawn from Tiberias; and the Sohar, that Messiah shall be manifested from the land of Galilee.

II.

WE proceed to enquire: What did Hillel the Babylonian teach? And what Jesus of Nazareth? A second comparison,[1] which we will endeavour to draw will illustrate this more clearly than the foregoing.

A foreigner presented himself on one occasion before Shammai; "Make me a proselyte," said he, "but thou must teach me the whole law, whilst I stand on one leg." Shammai flew into a passion, lifted the measuring rod, which he happened to have in his hand, and drove him from his presence.

He now applied to Hillel, who actually converted him under the required conditions. He said to him, דעלך סני לחברך לא תעביד זו היא כל התורה כולה ואידך פירושה הוא זיל גמור, in English, "What is disagreeable to thyself, never do to thy neighbour, this is the

[1] *b. Schabbath*, 21 a.

whole law, to which all else is but the commentary. Go and learn it." It is on the ground of this much admired reply that Rénan and Geiger stand, when they seek to represent Jesus as following the traces of Hillel. We are far from undervaluing the grandeur and nobility of Hillel's answer. It required, indeed, a comparatively enlightened insight into the nature of the law to perceive that all national ordinances and ceremonial precepts contained in the Thora served a moral purpose, regulating the relation of man to man. But, was the code delivered on Sinai simply, or indeed chiefly, a moral one? According to that fundamental maxim which we find in Deut. 6. 4, 5, and which, as the שמע has been embodied in the daily prayer of the Israelite, may not the real sum total of the law be far more justly described, as contained in the command, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might?"

Was Hillel then justified in withholding this precept from the enquiring idolater, whose most urgent need was the knowledge of the living God? To judge from his reply, it

would seem that the first table of the holy law is less binding and important than the second. Yet morality can never be divorced from religion, without the moral duties losing the support of its divine and eternal basis. This, however, is what Hillel does, he represents the revealed law as a code of morality, and ignores its divine foundation and requirements, being in this the forerunner of that numerous class, who take the paltry maxim, "Do right and fear no man," for the height of wisdom, and indeed consider that it embodies the whole contents of the Bible, all else being in their opinion merely an unimportant appendix. In Mat. 7. 12 Jesus certainly says, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." But this is no isolated injunction; in the verse immediately preceding we read, "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good gifts to them that ask him?". And this saying of Jesus, resembling Hillel's, though not identical with it, differs from it chiefly in its

deep religious sentiment; the duty of love to our neighbour, being deduced from the example of that compassionate love of God, which all must strive to imitate. These utterances of Jesus form part of his Sermon on the Mount, of which the subject was the true righteousness; and in which the law given on Mount Sinai, in a preparatory, and therefore imperfect manner, received its full development. In this discourse true righteousness is represented as the gift of God, and its essence is made to consist in submission to His will, and renunciation of self, and in bringing not only the outer, but the deepest inner life, into conformity and obedience to Him. This righteousness consists therefore in the reciprocal working of religion and morality, and in it love to God and love to man go hand in hand. For this reason we find, Mar. 12. 28-34, that, in a case somewhat similar to Hillel's, Jesus gave a reply which differed essentially from that of the Rabbi. When asked by a scribe, "Which is the first commandment of all?" he answered, "The first of all the commandments is Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God is

one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This is the first commandment. And the second is like, namely this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these." These words ring clear and decisive, and in them we at once perceive the full truth and harmony of the law, to the spirit of which Jesus gives its full weight. In the Thora, these two commandments are never met with side by side, for in Deut. 6. 5, it is only love to God, and not love to man, which is inculcated; and in Lev. 19. 18 the command to love our neighbour stands among many others; whilst its basis, in the love of God, is not alluded to. Jesus, however, brings their hidden connection to light. Whilst Hillel's moralising reply rests solely on Lev. 19. 18, and entirely overlooks the passage in Deut. 6. 4, Jesus unites the two great commandments in one whole, and that in such a manner, that the apparently less important is placed on a footing of equality with the greater; for, even as light and radiation, so

are love to God and love to man, but one in their essence and in their source. They are *one* in the Lord our God, the God of Israel, who is one God. This union of the two commandments, on which all others are founded, lies indeed in the spirit of the Old Testament law, but it was Jesus who first proclaimed it; he of whom Geiger says, that "he never gave utterance to a single new idea!" Never has a falser or more shameless aspersion been cast on the historically original, yet cultivated grandeur, of the Founder of Christianity. We would render all justice to Hillel's famous saying, but we know Hillel (whom, at the expense of Jesus, Geiger would magnify into a reformer) too well to allow a false estimate of his character to be foisted on us, on the strength of a single speech; above all, of one, which as we have seen, proclaimed but half the truth. Hillel's work was in no sense reformatory, still less creative; it consisted principally in the development of the so-called oral law, which aimed at protecting the Mosaic law from violation, by fencing it in with innumerable preventive regulations.

In this exaggerated spirit of clerkly quibbling Hillel had a formidable rival in the person of the stricter, and in ceremonial matters, more exacting Shammai. One example will show how far men had already fallen away from the spirit of the Mosaic law. Ex. 16. 5 contains indirectly the precept that food intended to be eaten on the Sabbath should be prepared the preceding day. The sense and object of the passage are unmistakeable. That Sabbath rest which the law of Moses guaranteed both to the servant and the maid, no less than to the master and the mistress, was not to be broken by the labour of cooking. The doctors of the law, however, propounded the question, whether an egg which a hen had laid on the Sabbath might be eaten on that day. One would have thought this a matter requiring no consideration; man taking no active part in the laying of eggs. Nevertheless the consumption of such egg was declared absolutely unlawful, if it had been laid by a hen kept for the purpose of laying, because in this case it would be the result of a week-day occupation carried out on the Sabbath, in disobedience to the law.

Up to this point the "Fathers of old time"[1] were agreed. But how if the hen had been intended for eating and not for laying? And how if a Sabbath and a Feast-Day, or as we might say, since a Feast-Day is equal in sanctity to a Sabbath, how if two Sabbaths came together? Here, contrary to his usual custom, Shammai's interpretation was less strict than Hillel's, since he allowed the consumption of the egg of a hen set apart for eating, on the Sabbath or Feast-Day preceding it, and laid on such Sabbath or Feast-Day. But Hillel, the "Reformer" according to Geiger, according to Rénan "the real instructor of Jesus," argued as follows: Since such egg was perfected on a Sabbath or Feast-Day, and therefore came unlawfully into being, it is on this account unlawful to eat it on the Sabbath or the Feast-Day following; and though it might in itself be lawful to eat the egg of such hen on the Sabbath or Feast-Day, had it been laid on a Sabbath or Feast-Day which was not either preceded or followed by a Sabbath or Festival, yet even this must be considered for-

[1] אבות העולם. Hillel and Shammai are thus named in the *Mishna Edujoth*, I. 4.

bidden, because one might otherwise fall into the temptation to eat it on such Sabbath or Feast-Day, when it would, on the aforementioned grounds, be strictly prohibited to do so. And since on the Sabbath that which is to be eaten must not be carried from place to place, such egg must not only not be eaten, but not be lifted up or put aside. A conscientious person, therefore, would naturally avoid touching it, since he might be tempted even to take it in his hand, or even looking at it, since in doing so he might begin to lust after it. In this celebrated controversy of the egg,[1] as in many others, Hillel carried his point against Shammai, since it seems a voice was heard from heaven, בת קול, which said, "The words of both are the words of the living God, but let the lessons of Hillel be carried into practice."[2]

Now just conceive for one moment a

[1] A whole treatise of the Talmud which treats of Festivals in general takes from this controversy, with which it opens, its name of *Beza*, "the egg."

[2] *b. Erubin*, 13 b. According to this passage the preference was given to the doctrine of the Hillelites, because they were gentle and polite, giving due consideration to the words of the Shammaites, and even allowing the latter to take the uppermost seats at the consultation.

scrupulous compatriot presenting himself to Jesus with the question whether he might eat an egg laid at such and such a time; and, supposing that his question did not die on his lips, when he found himself face to face with one whose whole aspect must have bespoken the embodiment of the spirit of the law, as well as the most uncompromising denunciation of all hypocrisy; may we not imagine what reply he would have received? For when the scribes and Pharisees asked of Jesus, "Why walk not thy disciples after the tradition of the elders, but eat bread with defiled (that is to say, with unwashen) hands?" he answered, "Well hath Esaias prophesied of you, hypocrites, as it is written, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots and cups, and many other such like things ye do." (Mar. 7. 7, 8.) This ceremony, therefore, concerning which there runs a rabbinical maxim, "He who despises the washing of hands shall

be consumed from the face of the earth,"[1] had no religious value in the eyes of Jesus, and this solitary example will suffice to show how determined was the position he took up in opposition to that traditional law, on the upholding and development of which Hillel's special fame was grounded.

The tendencies of these two diverged as widely as heaven from earth. The teaching of Hillel is juristic, casuistic, and narrow-mindedly national, whilst that of Jesus is universally religious, moral, and humane. Hillel lives and moves only in the externals, and Jesus in the spirit of the law. The latter frees the law of God from the boundaries, with which, whilst destined for but one people, it was necessarily enclosed; whilst the former strives, on the contrary, to strengthen these bands, sometimes by stricter, sometimes by milder enactments, without much laying to heart the command contained in Deut. 28. 28, "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish aught from it," לא תוסיפו ולא תגרעו. The pragmatic historian here finds himself in great

[1] *b. Sota*, 4 b. כל המולול בנטילת ידים נעקר מן העולם

perplexity. Nowhere in the times or country of Jesus do we meet with the true connecting link of the manner in which he exalts morality as opposed to ceremonialism. Rénan disconnects the *bon mot* by means of which Hillel gained a proselyte, from the general tenor of his doctrine, in order to represent Jesus as building on his foundation; and Geiger, who makes Jesus follow in Hillel's steps, misleads those only who are not sufficiently acquainted with Jewish literature to know that Hillel trod the broad highway of rabbinism, on which Jesus turned his back, whilst he struck into another path, which till then had never entered into the heart of man.

And how much have the Essenes to answer for?[1] But this fraternity, who much resembled the Freemasons, and were settled on the western shore of the Dead Sea, never

[1] As for instance in Grätz' *History of the Jews*, where we read, "The most ideal conception of the Messiah, and the Messianic 'times of refreshing,' was that which the Essenes pictured to themselves." But we in fact know nothing whatever of the ideas of the Messiah which the Essenes may have entertained. "John the Baptist" continues our author, "was evidently an Essene;" but in his manner of life he was a copy of Elijah, and no Essene, and beyond his manner of life the supposition that he was an Essene is wholly unsupported.

appear on the stage of New Testament history. Indeed, since they excelled even the Pharisees in point of abstemiousness and cleanliness, and avoided yet more jealously than did these latter, all intercourse with the common people, one can scarcely imagine that any other sentiment than that of reciprocal disgust could have existed between them and Jesus (supposing, indeed, that they ever came in contact with each other), when we recollect that he received publicans, fishermen, and so-called sinners as his disciples, that he ate and drank with them, and instead of fasting, strove to encourage in his followers a spirit of nuptial joy. Nowhere in the tendencies of those times can we discover a connecting link with the teaching of Jesus, it is only to be found in the voice of Old Testament prophecy, which after a silence of two centuries and a half revived anew in John the Baptist. Jesus exhibits the old prophetic view of the worthlessness of the dead works of the law, but he says not only "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath," but also, "The Son of Man is Lord also of the sabbath" (Mark 2. 27, 28),

thus arrogating to himself a sovereignty, not only over traditional precepts, but over the actual law itself as given on Sinai, such as no prophet would have dared to assume without the most glaring presumption. Nor does he rest satisfied with interpreting the letter of the law by its spirit, but makes known his own judgments, as being the full and conclusive expression of the will of God, and as supplementing the imperfect revelation of that will contained in the Thora. This none surely had dared to do, save he who knew himself to be that mediator of the new covenant, ברית חדשה, spoken of in Jer. 31. 31, in whom, according to the word of the prophet, the work of revelation which was begun on Sinai should be fully perfected. For instance, the law allowed a man to put away his wife, by means of a bill of divorcement, for any "uncleanness" which he might find in her, the facility of such divorce being fettered by but one condition, namely, that should the divorced woman become the wife of another, her first husband should never take her to wife again. (Deut. 24. 4.)

The wording of the required ground of

divorce is here so vague, that the disciples of Shammai held, that the meaning of the term "uncleanness," should be restricted to moral delinquency. But this view was opposed by Hillel, who actually maintained that a man might put away his wife, even if she had only burned his food.[1] Jesus here is not content with merely interpreting the law in its strictest sense, he goes much deeper and further. On the one hand he perceives in the permission to separate, and the decree of the bill of divorcement, an effect of the far-seeing wisdom of God, which sought to gradually educate to true sanctification of spirit, a stiff-necked and carnally-minded people; and, on the other hand, he opposes to this temporary divine permission, the primitive institution of marriage at the Creation as an indissoluble bond, uniting a man to his one wife (Mar. 10. 5-9), together with the expression of his own will, which certainly tolerates no ground of

[1] *Gittin*, ix. 10. Modern Jewish authorities endeavour to do away the revolting character of this dictum, by saying, that burning food may be explained to mean, a woman having sacrificed her own reputation, or that of her family. (Vide Jost's *History of Judaism and its Sects*, 264.) But this view is contradicted by the words אפילו "even if only," which indicate but a trifling fault.

divorce excepting adultery: "But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery: and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced, committeth adultery." (Matt. 5. 32.) What sublime consciousness of equality with the Divine Majesty do the words, "But I say unto you" express! The code given on Sinai is to him merely a preparatory step in the revelation of the things of God. He knows himself to be the Mediator of that perfected and Divine Work. In the Sermon on the Mount, which even the most captious critics allow to be a true specimen of the teaching of Jesus, he recognises on the one hand the divine character of the law, and of the Old Testament writings, when he says (Matt. 5. 17, 18), "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle, shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled;"[1] whilst on the other

[1] This expression is known to the Talmud, but through a translation which distorts its real meaning, *b. Schabbath*, 116 b, "I am not come to diminish aught from the law of Moses, but to add to the law of Moses (לאסופי), am I come."

side, he opposes the mere literal and external fulfilment of the law, and urges on his hearers, in a new and deeper sense, a free-hearted and willing obedience to its precepts; laying before them, at the same time, some examples of the true spirit in which they were conceived. That inward working which is shadowed forth in Deuteronomy, and continued by the prophets, is fully carried out by him, who declares himself the fulfiller of the law and the prophets. He, who according to Geiger, "never gave utterance to a single new idea," breathes a new spirit into the law, and writes it on our hearts in a manner unheard of till his day; a manner which differs utterly from the school of Jewish-Alexandrian allegory, and with which the few scattered beams of light met with in the rabbinical writings, cannot for a moment be compared. Need one do more than read how, in Matt. 5. 33-37, he prohibits the desecration of the name of God, and strikes at the very root of perjury? "Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay;" as though he had said, Your simple Yea and Nay should be equal to a solemn oath, for he who is truly pious

stands ever in the presence of God. Thus too with the command, Thou shalt not kill; whilst the preparatory dispensation of the Old Testament forbids murder, He, the law-giver of the kingdom of Heaven established amongst men, declares that the guilt of one who is angry with his brother without a cause, who insults or despises him, is equal to his who is guilty of murder. (Matt. 5. 21-24.) And how ineffably does he transfigure the stern law of retaliation by the spirit of Divine love! (Matt. 5. 38-48.) Retaliation may be practised, not indeed rendering evil for evil, but recompensing evil with good. The law says indeed, Thou shalt love thy neighbour (לרעך) as thyself (Lev. 19. 18); but by this term "neighbour" a fellow-countryman was understood, and a line of conduct was permitted in dealing with Gentiles, which would have been unlawful if pursued towards an Israelite. It ordains the utter destruction of the Canaanites and hallows the inexorable warfare, which was to be maintained against them with the devouring sword. The command to love one's neighbour appears here as narrow-hearted, as we might expect to find a

precept intended for a single race, and not for all mankind. Jesus, however, breaks down this barrier of partition and inculcates an universal philanthropy, which should subsist regardless of nationality, rank, merit, or sympathy. My neighbour is henceforth every one who needs my help or whose help I need; even my enemy. All men are to acknowledge one another as brethren, for all have one Great Father in Heaven, whom he, Jesus, has revealed and brought near to them. This universal love is nowhere enjoined in the Old Testament Scriptures, and although here and there generosity towards an enemy may be inculcated, Jesus is the first and only one, who ever elevated to the rank of a moral principle this love, which should embrace even those that hate us. How deeply the whole world has been stirred by those words, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven:" all history shows. In these words the highest idea of morality is held up for our imitation, and ever since they

were uttered, all true progress in the history of mankind has consisted in the triumph of the love they teach. For whatever Judaism may know of this, it is indebted, not to Hillel, nor to any other of its ancient sages, but to this Jesus of Nazareth, "who," says Geiger, "never gave utterance to a single new idea;" but who in fact ushered in a new epoch with this principle of all-embracing charity, a principle from whose light not even Judaism could hide itself, however little it may know of him, of whose glory this light is but an emanation.

Face to face with the ideal morality of the Sermon on the Mount, we cannot forbear to recognise in Jesus the truly great man, who understood the essence of morality to its very foundations; yet must we allow him to be more than this: a prophet who opposed the hypocritical, heartless righteousness of works in fashion in his day, by manifesting the spirit of the law through its letter; nor only so, but even that Prophet like unto Moses do we see him to be, whose coming is foretold in Deut. 18. 15, and who was to be the Mediator of the final revelation of God, even as Moses was the Mediator of the preparatory. But,

according to his own testimony, he is One greater than these. As the liberator of religion from the swaddling bands and leading strings by which she had been fettered hitherto, he towers immeasurably above not only Hillel, but all other sages, yea, all other prophets of Israel. At the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount, which modern criticism allows to be "the Truest of the True," he speaks of himself as the future Judge of all men, who will hold them responsible for the hearing and doing of the Word proclaimed by his mouth; and who would unmask all those hypocrites who would seek to justify themselves before him, with the judicial sentence: "I never knew you, depart from me ye that work iniquity." (Matt. 7. 23.) And when asked by the High Priest, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" (Mar. 14. 61) he replied, "I am: and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of Heaven." (Mar. 14. 62.) In this witness to himself he exalts himself far above mankind, and into the closest union with God. By him the destiny of all men is to be decided, and through him God's

sovereignty over the human race is to be proved. What lofty self-consciousness is expressed in those self-chosen names, Son of God, and Son of Man! We will not here seek to explain these names, but this at least they teach us, that in him met the movement of mankind towards God, and the movement of God towards mankind, even as two lines converge to a common centre, and in him heaven and earth join hands in reconciliation. What shall we say then to this declaration, by which on the one side he represents himself as the Head of the human race, and on the other as essentially united to God? If we renounce both the arbitrary caprice of a Colani, the shears of whose criticism would pare away everything "exaggerated" from the testimony of Jesus to himself; and the half-heartedness of a Schenkel, who by false explanations would seek to reduce it to the level of our comprehension, there remains nothing for us but the choice, either with Strauss and Rénan, to consider this Galilean, notwithstanding his incontestable greatness, only from the pathological point of view of a great intellect, strained almost to insanity, or with Paul and all the

Apostles to bow in faith and adoration before the God-Man, the Saviour, who, when the misery of mankind had reached its highest point, came forward self-devoted to stem the torrent; not as a *Deus ex machina*, but as one whose way had been prepared step by step in the expectation and history of Israel, even to that last prophetic voice, which foretells at once the advent both of the Mediator, the God-Man, and also of his forerunner in the spirit and power of Elias, John the Baptist. "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me: and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple, even the Angel[1] of the covenant, whom ye delight in: behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts." (Mal. 3. 1.) The messenger is Elias, the Lord who is coming, sent by the Lord of Sabaoth, is very God of very God, because in him was completed that chain of supernatural appearances of the Angel of Jehovah, which from patriarchal times had been vouchsafed in connection with the covenant of Israel. The Lord and the

[1] It is thus that the word ומלאך הברית is translated in the German Version. *Translator.*

Angel of the covenant are one and the same, for the Angel of Jehovah is Jehovah himself, is his Presence, in whom he manifests himself. (See Ex. 33. 14; Deut. 4. 37; Isa. 63. 9, פניו). O Israel, people of the covenant, lay this to heart; if Jesus be not this Lord and Angel of the covenant, must ye not still await his coming? *But God and Man* in one Person must your Messiah, your Saviour be, if your prophets, even unto this Malachi, have spoken truth.

But it is time that we unroll our third picture, in order to measure Jesus and that Hillel, whom Rénan dares to represent as his true teacher, side by side. This third picture will show us clearly how the life of each differed from the other in suffering, and how far Grätz is right, when he says, in his *History of the Jews* (Vol. III., 1863), "The gentleness and humility of Jesus remind us of Hillel, whom indeed he appears to have taken as his model."

III.

IT is related in the Talmud, that on a certain occasion, two men came to high words in Jerusalem, on the following subject: "Talk not to me!" exclaimed one, "I will give 400 süs" (the name of a coin stamped with the image of Zeus, and equal in value to the Roman denarius) "to whoever shall succeed in really putting Hillel into a passion." "Done," cried the other, and proceeded to carry out his wager. It was a Friday afternoon, and Hillel was busy washing and combing in preparation for the following day, when at this most inconvenient hour, and without addressing him by his proper title, a voice shouted before his door, "Is Hillel there?" The Rabbi quickly threw on his cloak, hurried out, and enquired, "What is your will, my son?" "I would ask thee somewhat," replied

his under-bred visitor. To whom Hillel: "Say on, my son." "How is it that the Babylonians have such nasty round heads?" enquired the fellow. Hillel: "My son, thine is a weighty question. It is because they lack skilful midwives." The enquirer turned his back on him and walked off. After the lapse of an hour he returned and cried as before: "Is Hillel there? Is Hillel there?" The latter, wrapped in his mantle, again came forth and asked, "What wouldest thou, my son?" "I have a question to put to thee!" "Ask it, my son!" "Why have the Tartars such little slits of eyes?" Hillel: "My son, thou hast asked a weighty question. It is because they inhabit great sandy steppes." The enquirer retired, and after another hour, raised the same uproar as on the former occasions in front of Hillel's house: "Is Hillel within? Is Hillel within?" For the third time the Rabbi, wrapping his mantle about him, came out with the words, "My son, what is your will?" "I have something to ask thee." Hillel: "Speak then, my son!" "Why," demanded his persecutor, "have the Africans such broad flat feet?" Hillel: "Because, my son, they dwell in marshy

districts." The enquirer proceeded, "I would fain ask thee many other questions, but fear thou mightest be wroth." Hillel, however, drew his cloak closer around him, seated himself beside his visitor, and replied, "Say on, my son, ask whatsoever thou desirest to know." This disarmed his companion, who cried: "Thou then art Hillel, whom men call the Prince of Israel." "Yes," replied the Rabbi. "If it be so, I hope there are but few like thee in Israel." "Why so, my son?" asked Hillel. "Because on thine account I have lost four hundred denare." "Be not so hasty, my son," replied Hillel: "better is it that thou shouldest lose four hundred, and yet again four hundred denare on Hillel's account, than that Hillel should lose patience." Hillel's good nature was indeed so great, that it was almost boundless. He is said to have hired a riding-horse and running footman for an impoverished noble, and once, when such an attendant could not be procured, it is related that he himself ran three miles in this capacity.[1]

Hillel's complaisance indeed led him at

[1] *b. Kethuboth*, 67 b, and in other places.

times to transgress the bounds of truth. Shammai, for instance, insisted that in nuptial songs, nothing but truth should be spoken of the bride; whilst Hillel taught, that on these occasions, one should try and look on her with the bridegroom's eyes, and, therefore, however unattractive she might be, should praise her beauty and grace.[1] This same good nature even led him for the sake of peace to tell a lie, when once he artfully represented as a cow, an ox which he desired to have slaughtered for sacrifice in the outer-court of the Temple, in order to avoid a quarrel with the disciples of Shammai, over a point of law.[2] Only by the fact that his far-famed gentleness had its shady as well as its sunny side, can we understand how Hillel could have lived honoured and favoured under the arbitrary rule of Herod the Great, whose government was as cruel towards his own subjects, as it was

[1] *b. Kethuboth*, 16 b, 17 a.

[2] He waved the animal's tail about in order to conceal its sex. The story is to be met with *b. Beza*, 20 a, and in other places. Comp. Jost's *History of Judaism and its Sects*, I., 267: "Hillel not only allowed himself to be intimidated by Shammai, but also in the outer court of the temple yielded so completely to his insolent disciples, that to avoid a quarrel he was guilty of an untruth, which the Rabbins consider as a highly meritorious action on his part.

cowardly towards Rome; yet, under this prince, Hillel held the highest national post of honour in Jerusalem, and attained, like Moses, as tradition informs us, the great age of 120 years.[1]

Gentleness and its kindred virtues of humility and patience, formed a leading feature in the character of Jesus; and for this very reason he is spoken of as the Lamb. (Jno. 1. 29; comp. Isa. 53. 7.) Ceaselessly wandering, and denying himself every enjoyment that did not directly tend to the furtherance of his Work, Jesus unweariedly held his ground before the multitudes who thronged around him, seeking healing or instruction; and whenever he did withdraw himself from them, it was always either to escape from a spurious enthusiasm, by which he was deeply pained, or in solitary prayer, to strengthen himself anew for his ministry of love. "*The Son of Man*," says he, "*came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many*." (Mar. 10. 45.) These words enunciate that idea of atonement, which, though calculating reason may deem it absurd, is yet

[1] *Bereschith Rabba*, § 100.

(and this we dare aver without the slightest exaggeration), deep graven on the hearts of all men, of whatever race they may be, or to whatever degree of culture they may have attained. When the Roman Curtius leaps from the rock to save his nation, or when, ere the Greeks set sail for Troy, Iphigenia is offered as a sacrifice; or again, when in China the brother of the Emperor Wu-Wang devotes himself to death, in the hope of thereby restoring his sovereign to health and life, all this proceeds from the impulse of an idea common to all mankind. There is, however, no people on the earth, amongst whom this idea is stronger or more deeply-rooted than amongst the Jews. To them the voices of six thousand years cry aloud, that *sin demands expiation;* be it by the punishment of the sinner, by which justice is satisfied, or be it by the self-substitution of an innocent person, of which mercy allows the sinner to have the benefit. In the first case, the suffering expiates as such; in the second, the atonement is effected by the voluntary suffering of the substitute, its merit and prevailing strength being poured forth on him whom it seeks to ransom.

The whole sacrificial system of the Old Testament was a foreshadowing of this idea. For the offering of the victim on the altar was in every case preceded by the presentation of the blood before the altar. The gift was first made acceptable by the atonement, and the means of atonement is the blood. Of which God the Law-giver says (Lev. 17. 11), "The life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it you to make an atonement for your souls upon the altar, (כי הדם בנפש הוא יכפר) for the blood maketh atonement *through* the soul"[1] (the soul, that is, which it contains, which thus takes the place of the sinner). But in the case of animal sacrifices, the substitution was symbolical, not actual, as is intimated in the words, "I have given it." The guilt of a sinner can only be really expiated by a self-devoted and innocent victim of his own race. (נתתיו.) In harmony with this idea there runs a Jewish saying, in reference to the ordinance, that, on the Day of Atonement, the High Priest had first to make atonement

[1] In this quotation the translator has rendered the German translation of the Sacred Text into English, and not simply copied the passage from our Authorised Version. It will be seen that the word *through* alters the meaning of the text considerably.

for himself, before proceeding to do so for the priesthood and the whole congregation. יבא זכאי ויכפר על החייב ולא יבא חייב ויכפר על זכאי, "*i.e.*, the guilty cannot make atonement for the innocent, but only the innocent for the guilty." Another proverb says מיתת צדיק מכפרת, or, "the death of the righteous maketh expiation;" and to this day, a pious son, when thinking of his father, will say: "May I be the atonement of his death-bed;"[1] whilst the tender-hearted will pray for his enemy: "If he be in the wrong, set to his account any greater uprightness that I may possess;" and if the wicked son of a pious mother should after all be converted from his evil ways, the popular judgment finds expression in the words: "His mother's '*sechus*' זכות, *i.e.*, merit has helped him."[2]

Following out this idea of mysterious, but not on that account less real, interchange of moral guilt and merit, Jesus took the determination to offer himself as an atonement for his own nation, and for all mankind. He knew that no evil exists greater than sin,

[1] See Zunz on *History and Literature*, p. 332.

[2] See Kompert, *History of an Alley*, 1865, Vol. I., 131; II., 180.

which is the root of all evil; and this sin of all flesh he bore as his own, upon his heart and conscience, that he, through his holy life and innocent death, might do away this mass of iniquity from before the face of God the Just and Merciful; and might, in his own person, prove a new and vitalising starting point in the history of the human race. But common as was this idea of atonement to all mankind, and especially to his own people, what was it that justified him in devoting to it his whole being, in making it in fact the one deed of his life? Our answer is, that he with Divine certainty knew himself to be the King-Messiah; not such a Messiah as was then hoped for, robed in transitory and worldly greatness, but such as he is depicted in the types and prophecies of the Old Testament, which ever foreshadow his universal dominion, on the dark background of a mortal agony, which should issue in the happiness, both of himself and all mankind. When, in the book of Isaiah (53. 4, 5), Jesus read the repentant lamentation of his people: "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of

God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed." Then, responsive to the Word of God in this Scripture, the Word of God in the depths of his being answered, saying, "Thou art he," and this outward and inward Word of God, perfected by the utterance of his divinely-human self-consciousness in the words, "I am he," formed one harmonious, three-fold chord, before which, now in overpowering joy, and now in overpowering sadness, every faculty and fibre of his being vibrated.

From the day of his baptism in Jordan, he held himself in readiness to undergo his baptism in blood. He knew who should be his murderers, namely those Pharisees, who set the minute observance of the law, above that fulfilment of prophecy, which a new epoch was ushering in. He knew also the place of his murder, even that Jerusalem, where Simon, the son of Hillel, though president of the Sanhedrin, was completely cast into the shade by Caiaphas the High Priest, a proud and blood-thirsty Pharisee. Already during his

three years' ministry had death threatened him in many shapes, though he had hitherto avoided it, in order by his preparatory labours, to secure the due comprehension and fruits of his self-devotion. But every step of his restless, wandering life, brought him nearer to that Jerusalem, of which he says, "It cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem." (Lu. 18. 31-33.) Of his own free will he goes up to the city, like a lamb to the slaughter. Since he feared not death he feared not man; and since he met death to abolish the penalty of sin, and trample its power in the dust, we ever find his gentleness united to a lofty and courageous truthfulness, which is wanting in the meekness of Hillel. He who could say, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy-laden" (Matt. 11. 28), was the same who brandished the scourge over the desecrators of the Temple, and treated with contempt the warning of Herod Antipas, who took him for the avenging spirit of John the Baptist; the same who rolled the thunder of his denunciations over the Pharisees, and never kept back the truth, whatever exasperation it might arouse. For, whilst the prophets

of the Old Testament all knew themselves to be subject to the law, Jesus places himself above it, as Fulfiller and Expositor of the true Will of God, and as being himself the personal goal and tangible limit of the revealed Testimony. Nay, even when a prisoner before Pilate and the Sanhedrin, he never, notwithstanding all the appearances against him, desisted from the assertion of his Divine and Kingly Majesty.

Here again we are confronted with our former dilemma. Either this witness of Jesus to himself is self-deception, and Judaism is right in shutting itself off from Christianity as from a back-sliding daughter, behind that barrier of the law, which Hillel took such pains to strengthen; or this was really he, to whom the whole choir of the Apostles, as well as the gospel of St. Mark, bears witness, when it opens with the words, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God; as it is written in the prophets, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight."

Either this was a man who overrated himself, and, who, notwithstanding the truths contained in his teaching, did far more to falsify than to illustrate the idea of God, when claiming to be the Son of God, he made himself equal with God, as touching his nature, and by his claim to be Redeemer and Judge of the world, placed himself on an equality with the Almighty as touching his office; or, here was indeed the Christ proclaimed by Old Testament prophecy as האדון, the Judge of the world, who should come to his Temple.[1] We must either share the horror of the Jewish High Priest, who on asking the question, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed," and being answered, "I am," rent his clothes, exclaiming, "Ye have heard the blasphemy!" or we must side with the centurion, who, witnessing the death of Jesus on the cross, cried, as he drew his last breath, "Truly this was the Son of God!" (Matt. 27. 54.) Yes, this was the Son of God, he is so still, he who was dead, and, behold, he is alive again

[1] Both Christian and Jewish readers may weigh with advantage the meaning of the following texts: Isa. vii. 14, comp. with Isa. viii. 8; Isa. ix. 6 (5), comp. with x. 21; Zec. vi. 12, 13, compare Psa. cx. and Jer. xxiii. 5, 6; Mal. iii. 1, comp. with Hag. ii. 6-9.

for evermore. This was the antitype of Isaac, that promised seed of Abraham, whom he offered on Mount Moriah; the antitype of David, who says (Ps. 16. 10), "Thou wilt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." This is the Messiah of God, who since he is God as well as man, is called by the prophets, "The Mighty God" (Isa. 9. 6), and "Jehovah our Righteousness" (Jer. 23. 6). This was the Fulfiller of the law and the prophecy, in whom all the types and predictions of the Old Covenant are Yea and Amen. This was the Mediator of the New Covenant, which proceeding forth from Israel should embrace all mankind, and make all men heirs together of its great salvation. Here of a truth was One greater than Hillel, before whom Hillel's knowledge of the law, yea even the law itself, must pale, as would the light of a taper, or the rays of the moon, before the splendour of the rising sun.

To Hillel's countrymen leave we then the task of wailing at his grave. "Alas for the gentle one and pious, the disciple of Ezra."[1]

[1] הי חסיד הי ענו תלמידו של עזרא thus according to both Talmuds ran the dirge over Hillel the elder. See *j. Sota*, 9, 6; *b. Sanhedrin*, 2 n.

Let us rather remember and adore the patient spotless, slaughtered Lamb of God, making our own that confession, which Isaiah, in the fifty-third chapter of his prophecy, tells us that Israel shall in the last days pour forth, in bitter repentance for past unbelief. "He was oppressed, and he was afflicted; yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth. Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him; he hath put him to grief: when thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand." Hillel is dead, and belongs to the past, as the representative of a system of worn-out maxims; but *Jesus lives*, and every onward step in the progress of the human race results from the progressive victory of the light which radiates from him. For, though a Geiger may say, "He never gave utterance to a single new idea," it is, and must ever remain a fact deeply engraved on the history of the world, that in this Jesus of Nazareth, there was given to mankind a new light in the knowledge of

God, and of the life which proceedeth forth from him. And if the writings of the prophets speak truth, there will yet come a day when Joseph will make himself known unto the brethren who betrayed him; and when the twelve stars of Israel shall do him homage, to whom Jehovah, speaking by the mouth of Isaiah the prophet, says (49. 6), "It is a light thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth."

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